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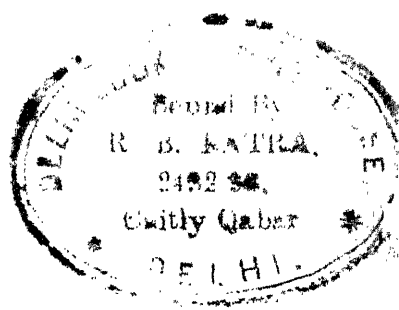
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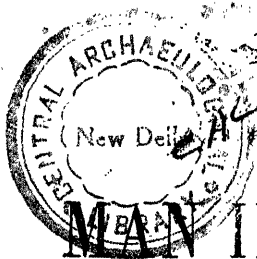
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I. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

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By
RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.

The ethnographic survey of India has brought to light peculiar customs prevailing amongst the various castes and tribes, which have been recorded in great detail in the various ethnographic volumes, which have been since published for a number of provinces. It appears necessary to digest all this vast mass of literature and bring out the salient points in the common customs, which affect the humanity of India. Till this is done, it would not, I think, be uninteresting to give an occasional glimpse of what is deducible from even provincial peculiarities. And so in the present article I shall note certain customs relating to marriage in the Central Provinces.

Marriage in the first place must be performed not only within the caste, but within a particular sub-division or a section of that Caste rules and sub-division, separated chiefly by restrictions, considerations of distance or adoption of some social practice regarded as a differentiating factor. It is prohibited

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in the same sept or *gotra* in all castes except a few lower ones who as a matter of fact have forgotten their sept names or have become so few in number that marital necessities oblige them to break the rules followed by other castes. A taboo is laid on the mother's line also, usually for 3 generations. The mother's parent's sept is avoided especially in the northern districts, but in the southern districts where marriages of a brother's and sister's children are permitted this rule of course does not hold good. The fact however is that marriages of this description are not of usual occurrence, except in the aboriginal and low castes, and thus the rule to avoid the mother's sept is fairly universal everywhere in the province. It is noteworthy that while intermarriage between a brother's and sister's children may be allowed, that between children of two sisters is strictly guarded against in some castes, such as Sonjhāras who argue that in the absence of the mother, her sister may nurse and bring up the children in which case she becomes the comon mother of her as well as her sister's children, and so it would be incestuous to marry them, in spite of the fact that they belong to distinct *gotras*, a wife being always assimilated with her husband's *gotra*. Two sisters may be married at different times to the same husband in almost every caste, but a man who has first married a younger sister can not under any circumstances take the elder one to wife, whether the younger one is living or dead. The prevailing notion is that an elder sister is equivalent to a mother-in-law and hence it would be incest to marry her. The Banjāra

is the only caste that forms an exception to this rule.

Forest tribes such as Baigās, Korkus, Nahāls, Binjhawārs, Dhanwārs, Kāwārs, Orāons and Parjās have their own rules. Among Baigās a man must not take a wife from a sept worshipping the same number of gods. But he may marry within his mother's sept and in some localities the union of first cousins is permitted. Again in some places Nahāls also permit the union of first cousins. Among the Binjhawārs the union of agnates is avoided as long as the connection can be traced between them, but on the mother's side all except first cousins may marry. Among Parjās as the number of septs is rather small the rule for prohibition of marriage between members of the same sept is not adhered to and members of the same sept are permitted to marry so long as they do not come from the same village, the original rule of exogamy being perhaps thus retained in essence.

Among Tamil and Telugu castes such as Colārs, Kaikāris, Komtis and Velāmās, the first named allow children of brothers and sisters to marry, but like Sonjhāras prohibit that between children of two sisters. They give the reason as follows:— During the absence of the mother her sister nurses the children; the children of sisters are therefore often foster brothers and sisters and this is considered as equivalent to the real relationship. Among Komtis, there should be no turning back of the creeper as they say, that is, when a girl has married into a family, the latter can not give

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a girl in marriage to the girl's family ever afterwards. Among Velāmās the first cousins may intermarry. A somewhat curious practice among the Telugu castes is to marry one's own sister's daughter—a union which would be regarded as most sinful among the Hindustani and Maratha castes.

Among the Marātha castes the Dhāngars practise *Antā-Santā* or the exchange of brides between two families, a custom much prevalent in the lower castes of the northern Districts. Among Garpagaris the children of two sisters do not intermarry so long as the relationship between them is remembered. Among Injhvars a man should not take a wife from the sept of his brother, or sister-in-law. This rule prevents the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. It is a common practice among the castes of this group, that a sister's son may marry a brother's daughter, but not *vice versa*. Among Kunbis a man is forbidden to marry within the sept of his mother or grand mother.

Among Hindustani castes a woman going wrong with an outsider is finally expelled from the caste. But if a girl is seduced by a man of the caste, she is married to him by the *churi pahiraua* ceremony used for widows. Among Barais in the Southern Districts a barber cuts off a lock of her hair on the bank of a tank or river by way of penalty and a fast is also imposed on her, while the caste-fellows exact a meal from her family. Among Bhilālas temporary excom-

munication from the caste is imposed for committing adultery.

Among Bhulias a curious rule is that in the case of a woman going wrong with a man of the caste, the man only is temporarily outcasted and forced to pay a fine on readmission, while the woman escapes without any penalty. But among Gāndas such a woman is married to the man by the ceremony employed in the case of widows while her parents have to give a feast to the caste.

Among the Forest Tribes also permanent excommunication from the caste is imposed for committing adultery with a man of another caste especially of a low type, but a liaison of a woman with a man of a superior caste or of the same caste involves no penalty. But if a Korku woman goes wrong with a man of a low caste, from which a Korku cannot take food she is outcasted and a fine of Rs. 40/- is exacted from the parents before they are readmitted to social intercourse.

Again, in the case of adultery with a member of the caste, if the husband does not wish to keep her as his wife, the offending parties have each a lock of hair cut off and give a dinner and are then considered to be married. Among Halbas, if a man seduces a married woman and is beaten with a shoe by her husband he is finally expelled from caste. In certain castes the appearance of menstruation before a girl is married, leads to expulsion. It is considered a sign of

superiority in social position if a widow is prohibited from marriage and many of the lower castes, if in affluent circumstances, have a tendency to introduce it, solely with the view of being recognised as a high caste. A caste about whose social position there is a doubt will usually come forward with arguments which in their view postulate their high status, and among these the most important are the prohibition of widow marriage, the wearing of sacred thread and abstinence from animal food and liquor. The last is not important for those who wish to relegate themselves to the Kshatriya caste with whom there is a great tendency for lower castes to identify themselves. All these three things are within the power of the caste to introduce without much external aid. Other signs of superior status such as acceptance by Brāhmans of water and food &c. from their hands is beyond their power to manage. Thus a section of the Kunbis called Deshmukhs have formed a separate sub-divison within which they have prohibited widow marriage and now claim superiority over other Kunbis who freely allow widow marriage. The Tanwar section of Kanwars also prohibit widow marriage. The Raj Gonds do the same and there are other castes who follow suit. On the other hand marital exigencies have obliged several castes to forego the luxury of an idle idea and to look in the face and reckon with existing circumstances such as want of women &c. Thus some Brāhmans (especially in Chhattisgarh and those known as Laheria in Saugor), a number of Rajputs, such

as Jadams, Raghubansis, Ponwars &c. and some Banias like Saitwals, Dosar and Kasarwani have introduced widow marriage, in spite of their position being somewhat compromised. In the higher castes, especially among educated people, the tendency is to permit widow marriage and some Marātha Brāhmans took the lead, but as yet their efforts have not been very successful. This opposition to the remarriage of a widow may be due to an excess of women and also to an inherent pride both on the part of the widow and the family with which she is connected. It is perhaps this sort of pride which actuated Colonel Astor who lost his life in the Titanic disaster to prohibit indirectly his young widow to remarry, in view of the fact that his will left a large property to her if she did not marry. In the case of a Hindu widow the idea that marriage is eternal and indissoluble is another cause which operates in the same direction. The castes which do not allow widow marriage are not many. They are Brāhmans, Rājputs, Banias and Kāyasthas. In some castes there are only some sub-divisions which prohibit widow marriage. These castes are Lodhis, Sonārs, Ahīrs, Dāngis, Darjis, Kālars, Marāthas and Gonds.

Among the lower Hindustani castes the widow is seldom allowed to go out of the family and when her husband dies she is generally married to her late husband's younger brother. If the widow prefers another man and runs away to him, the first husband's relatives claim compensation

and threaten, in the event of its being refused, to abduct a girl from this man's family in exchange for the widow. While among other castes she can marry any man and is bound by no restrictions as to her choice of a second husband.

Among the forest tribes, the Agarias, Baigās, Bhāriās, Gadbas, Korkus, Nahals, Sawaras, Bhainas, Bhunjias, Halbās, Kolāms, Mannewars, Pardhāns, Dhanwārs, Gond-Gowāris, Kawārs, Khonds, Orāons and Parjās permit widow marriage freely. Generally the widow marries her late husband's younger brother and in some cases she is forced to take her brother-in-law or Dewar. But if she persistently refuses to do so in spite of the strongest pressure, her parents turn her out, or if she marries an outsider, the Dewar (husband's younger brother) realizes a fine from him varying from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 12/- as compensation for the loss. Among Mannewars, on the other hand, the widow is not allowed to marry her first husband's brothers.

Among Satānis a widow must marry a widower and the officiating priest at the ceremony must also be a widower. Among Golars a sum of Rs. 25/- is usually paid to the parents of the widow by her second husband.

Among Kaikadis the widow is expected to marry the next younger brother of the deceased husband. She may not marry any except the next younger brother, and if another should take her, he is expelled from the caste until the connection is severed. Among Segidis, unlike other castes, a widow may marry her deceased husband's

elder brother but not his younger one. The usual prohibition for a widow marrying her husband's elder brother is based on the ground that he is looked on as her father. The Segidis say, on the other hand, that his younger brother is as her son. Among Kunbis if a woman's husband dies she returns to her father's house and he arranges her second marriage which is called *Choli palat* or giving her new clothes. She may marry any one out-side the family of her deceased husband, but she is not allowed to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband.

The Ponwars of Bhandara and Balaghat are reported to be in the habit of receiving large sums for their daughters when married for a second time, if they are young. It is said that a Ponwar mother's parting speech to her daughter when first married is "May you come back soon", that is, as a widow. The ceremony of a widow marriage is usually performed on a night of dark fortnight, no women except widows being present, as it is considered unlucky for a married woman to witness it.

Marriage of girls before puberty is what is laid down in the S'ashtras but the lower castes do not pay much attention to it as no stigma is attached to the family allowing an unmarried girl to exceed the age of puberty, while on the contrary, a higher price is then obtained for her.

Among some of the Uriya castes who do not possess a very high social position, for instance-

Chāsas, Dherās, Dumāls, Gāndas, Aghariās, Gandhmalis, Khadrās, Khāndāits, Koltās and Sudhs great stress is laid on puberty. A girl must always be wedded before arriving at adolescence on pain of permanent expulsion from the caste, or infliction of some heavy penalty, (such as the driving out of the girl to seclusion in the forest for a day and a half) and a feast to the caste fellows. If no husband is available she may be married to a flower or an arrow or a spear stuck up in the court yard of the house., or she may go through the form of marriage with any man in the caste and when a suitable partner is subsequently found she may be united with him by the form of widow-marriage. Among some Gandhmālis, the girl arriving at maturity goes through a symbolic form of marriage with her maternal grand-father, or some old man or sister's husband and in default of them with a tree. She is then immediately divorced and disposed of as a widow. She may then take a second husband at any time by the form for widow marriage.

The Forest Tribes as a rule see nothing wrong in marrying a girl after puberty. But among Sawaras in the Uriya tract and among Bhunjias if the sign of puberty appear in a girl before marriage they consider it a great sin, to avoid which they sometimes marry a girl to an arrow in the form of "Kand Biyah" or an arrow marriage; the girl walks 7 times round the arrow fixed in the ground. It is then thrown into the river, which implies that her husband is dead, and

she is afterwards disposed of by the ceremony of widow marriage or is given away without any ceremony to the man who by previous arrangement has brought the arrow. If the mock ceremony has not been performed before the girl becomes adult, she is taken to the forest by a relative and there tied to a tree, to which she is considered to be married; she is not taken back to her father's house, but to that of some relative, such as her brother-in-law or grand-father, who is permitted to talk to her in an obscene manner and is subsequently disposed of as a widow.

In some Telugu castes such as Kapewars, Kuramwars and Mutrasis, if a girl is not married before 10 years of age the parents are temporarily put out of caste and have to pay a penalty for readmission. But among Kapewars, if the parents take the girl to some sacred place on the Godavari river and marry her there, the penalty is avoided. It has yet to be seen what modifications the Age of Consent Act will bring about.

Among Hindustani castes the bride-price varies from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 1000/- The poorer classes of people pay about Rs. 5/ to Rs.

The scale of expenditure at marriage. 1000/- Among some lower castes the bride price is called *Chari* or *Dahej*. Some people also give some

fixed quantity of grain along with a small amount of money. Among the Murhas, the bride price which is paid to the girl's father is regarded as the remuneration of the latter for having brought up his daughter. Among Deswalis a fixed bride

price is commonly paid and, if the girl's father takes more, he is fined by the caste and made to refund the balance.

Among the Uriya castes there are three recognised scales of bride price, Rs. 7/- and 7 pieces of cloth, Rs. 9/- and 9 pieces of cloth and Rs. 18/- and 18 pieces of cloth. The rupees in question are those of Orissa and each of them is worth only two-thirds of a Government rupee.

Among Forest Tribes, a tribe bride of Rs. 5/- to Rs. 20/- with some fixed quantity of grain is usually paid before the wedding. Among the Baigas, in lieu of the payment of the bride price, the prospective husband serves his father-in-law for about two years, the marriage being celebrated after the first year if his conduct is satisfactory. Among Kawars a fixed bride price known as *Suk* which is made up of cash, husked or unhusked rice, pulses and rice, is paid, but sometimes it varies, the average value being Rs. 25/- To this are added 3 or 4 goats to be consumed at the wedding. If the widower marries a girl, a large bride price is exacted, almost double of the ordinary price. Among the Tamil and Telugu castes the bride price varies from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 500/- and among the Māratha castes from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 150/-; sometimes more than that is paid according to the attractions of the girl, the largest sum being paid for a woman who can go and live with her husband at once. If the girl has been seduced before marriage a low bride price is often paid for her. Among Hindustani Castes the Kacher as

are notorious for exacting large bride prices. In Damoh among Brāhmans, Rajputs and Kayasthas a bride-groom price is usually paid to the father of the boy amounting to Rs. 200/- to Rs. 300/- or a larger sum for a well educated Kayastha boy.

The marriage expenses depend on the capacity of the parties. A poor person may manage to marry off with an expense of 10 rupees, while another member of his caste may find it difficult to manage with 10,000 rupees. However the poorer people manage their marriages within 100 rupees, the middle classes within a thousand and the richer ones within 5000. The latter usually indulge in display of fireworks, and dancing girls. These accompanied with unsystematic feasts help to increase the expenditure a good deal. Marriage feasts instead of being a source of pleasure are the reverse of it. They are served at most unseasonable times and otherwise involve a great waste. In the Southern Districts, however, they are managed in a much better way than in the Northern Districts.

II. ON SOME BEAST-APOLOGUES OF A NEW TYPE.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITTRA, M. A., B. L.

Beast-tales are folk-tales in which animals are actors, who speak and act like human beings. On the other hand, *Apologues* are stories with a conscious purpose and a moral, and are thus closely related to Proverbs.

In this paper, I shall show that there are some folk-tales which possess the characteristics of both *Beast-tales* and of *apologues*. That is to say, the actors in these stories are animals who speak and act like human beings. But, at the same time, these stories inculcate a moral. I shall, therefore, call these peculiar folktales *Beast-Apologues*.

Peoples in a low plane of culture, also have their code of ethics. They consider certain lines of action and conduct to be wrong and therefore abhorrent to them; while other lines of conduct and action, are considered by them to be right and are, therefore, approved of by them. For instance, if we study the folklore of aboriginal peoples residing in the hill tracts of Assam, the Santhal Parganas, Ceylon, Malaya Peninsula and British North Borneo, we find that they highly reprobate the conduct of the strong bullying the weak, of the rich domineering over the poor and of the cunning cheating the simpleton. For the purpose of inculcating the afore-mentioned morals, the story-makers of the peoples in a low plane of

of culture, have invented certain stories. These stories are current among the Chirus and the Khasis of the Assam hill tracts, the Santhals of the Santhal Parganas and Chota Nagpur, the Sinhalese of Ceylon, the Malayas of the Malay Peninsula and the Dusun of British North Borneo. Thus the Chirus who are an aboriginal tribe dwelling in the Manipur Valley (in North Eastern India) and the mountains to its west, narrate the following *Beast-Apologue* for the purpose of inculcating the moral that the strong should not bully the weak, that the powerful should not express contempt for the puny and the helpless, for the weak and the helpless get the better of the former by their superior cunning:—

Once upon a time, a tiger and a snail ran a race. The snail had previously arranged with all the other members of his species that, whenever the tiger should call him as he ran, the former should be answered by every snail met by him on the way.

Accordingly, when the tiger started, the snail did not budge a single inch from his own place. After running alone for some time, the tiger called the snail. But he was answered by another snail who was waiting for him in the neighbourhood.

The foolish tiger, mistaking the latter for the snail who was competing with him in the race, continued to run and run till he was quite tired out and fell down dead on the ground.

Then all the snails gathered together to express their feelings of jubilation on the tiger's defeat

and crawled over the carcass of the deceased tiger leaving stripes on the latter's skin as they crawled along all over it.

The Old men of the Chiru tribe say that *this is the reason why the tigers possess striped hides.* ¹

The Khasis who are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Khasi hills related a folk-tale which is closely analogous to the preceding Chiru story for the purpose of inculcating the same moral. The following are differences between these two folk-tales :—

In the Khasi folktale, the part of the tiger is played by a stag; while the defeat of the stag by Ka Mattah—the snail, results in the former's vomiting out his gall-bladder as the *sequelae* of the great dissatisfaction he felt and the over-exertion to which he, being deceived by the snail's trickery, had subjected himself. The Khasis allege that, for this reason, up to the present time, the stags have no gall-bladders within their stomachs. The remaining incidents of both the Chiru and the Khasi folktales are identical. ²

Then, proceeding to the Santhal Parganas, we find that there is prevalent, among the Santhals a Dravidian people, a folk-tale entitled: *The Elephant and the Ants* which inculcates the very

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. III, Part III, pages 226-233.

² (Vide the Story entitled: *The Stag and the Snail in folk-tales of the Khasis*: By Mrs. Rafy. London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1920. pp. 81-84.)

same lesson as will appear from the following abstract thereof:—

In very ancient times, a red and a black ant were burrowing a hole in the ground. A wild elephant came there, and asked them as to what they were doing. On being told that they were burrowing a hole in the earth, the elephant threatened to demolish their work, saying that he was a most powerful animal and that no one else could vanquish him.

Thereupon the ants proposed that he should run a race with them and that unless he would win the race, they would not admit his superiority.

Being enraged by their challenge, the elephant started to run the race. When he had run some distance, he felt tired and looking down upon the ground, saw two ants in front of him, thinking them to be his competitors in the race. But, as a matter of fact, they were other ants, because ants are plentiful upon this earth.

In this way, the elephant ran on and on; and wherever stopped, he found two ants a head of him and by mistake thought them to be his rivals in the race. But as a matter of fact, they were not. In this way he became terribly exhausted, fell down and died. ³

Then proceeding to the Ceylon, we find that the following parallel folktales, inculcating the same lesson, are also prevalent among the Sinhalese:—

³ *Folklore of the Santhal Parganas* by C. H. Bompas. London, David Nutt. 1909. pp. 328—329.

The Lion and the Turtle.

In a jungle there lived a lion. One day, he could not procure any prey and, being much fatigued with searching for it, lay down beneath a tree and fell asleep.

While he was sleeping, a turtle which lived in a neighbouring bush emerged from it and started to go on a journey. The rustling noise made by him while passing through the dry leaves, awoke the lion who being angry pushed against him.

As the lion was hungry he put the turtle inside his mouth and bit and clawed him. But he could not mince him as the latter felt like a stone.

Thereafter the turtle said that he could swim this way and that way in a river and taunted the lion by saying that the latter could not do so at all.

The lion being angered by this taunt, asked the turtle to come with him and swim in a river this way and that way and said that, should he fail to swim with him, he would kill the latter.

The turtle accordingly went to a river and arranged with a friendly turtle that each of them having placed a red flower in his mouth should hide at the bottom of the water near each bank, so that when the lion crossing over to the other bank will land on it, he will be accosted by the friendly turtle.

In this way the lion would be led to believe that his competitor had reached before him. Then again when he would recross the river and reach

the starting point on the first bank, he would be accosted by the competitor who was lying hidden there all this time. In this way he will again be led to believe that his competitor had preceded him.

Deceived by the trickery of the two turtles, the lion crossed and recrossed the river again and again in order to beat his competitor, but he was so exhausted by his fruitless attempt that he died at last.

Variant.

In a variant current in the North-Western province of Ceylon it is stated that the lion lived in a cave and met the turtle when he went to the river to drink. He told the turtle that it was unable to travel quickly because it always lived in one place. The turtle shrugged its shoulders and replied, "Can you travel better than I?" The lion challenged it to race with him, and the turtle accepted the challenge, fixing the time eight days later.

The race of the two animals was not across the river but along its bank where a series of turtles were stationed at various points. Accordingly it was arranged that the lion should come to the bank and call out "Friend". At each place, a turtle rose on hearing this greeting and said, "what is it friend?".

At the fifth stage, the lion wishing to outstrip his rival, took a big jump across two more stages, fell down, broke neck and died. ⁴

⁴ For a fuller version of this story, vide "*Village Folktales of Ceylon*" by H. Parker. London. Luzac & Co. Vol. I. (1910), pp. 241-244.

Then leaving Ceylon, we proceed to the Malay Peninsula, where we find the Malay speaking people narrate the following folk-tale in which a wager is laid between a King-crow and a Water-snail about running a race along a river and which teaches the afore-mentioned morals:—

The King-crow and the Water-snail.

“A Water-Snail was coming up stream from the lower reaches, when a King-crow heard it. Said the King-crow to himself, “who can it be coming up stream that exclaims so loudly at the rapids? One might say it was a man but that there is nothing to be seen”. So the King-crow settled on a tree to watch, but as he could see nothing from his perch on the tree he flew down to the ground, and walked along by the water-side, and when he thought to see some man exclaiming, he caught sight of the water-snail”.

“Hullo, who are you there,” said he “where do you come from?” “I come from this eddy below the rapids,” said the Water-snail, “and I only want to get as far as the headwater of this river”. Said the King-crow, “Wait a bit. Suppose you go down to the river-mouth as quickly as you can and we will have a wager on it”.

(Now rivers are the Water-snail's domain, in which he has many comrades).

“What is to be the stake?” asked the Water-snail. “If I am beaten, I will be your slave, and look after your aroids and wild calladiums (on which Water-snails feed)”. Then the King-crow

asked, "And what will you stake?" The Water-snail replied, "If I am beaten, the river shall be handed over to you and you shall be King of River". But the Water-Snail begged for a delay of twice seven days, saying that he felt knocked up after ascending the rapids. And the delay was granted accordingly".

"Meanwhile however, the Water-snail hunted up a great number of his friends and instructed them to conceal themselves in each of the higher reaches of the river, and to reply immediately when the King-crow challenged them".

*The day arrived and the King-crow flew of and in each of the higher reaches the Water-snail's friends replied to the challenge. And at the river-mouth, the Water-snail replied in person. So the King-crow was defeated and has ever since remained the slave of the Water-snail".*⁵

Then leaving the Malaya Peninsula, we proceed to British North Borneo, where we find that the undermentioned parallel folktale, teaching the aforementioned lesson, is also current among the Dusains who dwell there:—

The *P'landok* (mouse-deer) had defeated all the large and powerful animals by his cunning, when he expressed his contempt for such a small creature as *Omong* (the hermit-crab), the latter challenged him to run a race with him. The former having accepted the challenge, it was decided that they should run the race along a

⁵ *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest.* By Walter Skeat, M. A. Cambridge: University Press 1901.

four-sided course. The hermit-crab cunningly placed at the second, third and fourth corners of this square, a friendly hermit crab, directing him to respond to the mouse-deer's call, when he would arrive at his post.

Accordingly. *Plandok* and *Omong* started to run the race. After they had proceeded to a short distance, the hermit crab cunningly burrowed himself, in the sand. The mouse-deer without caring to look back, ran on and arrived at the second post where, he called out and was answered by his rival's friend. *Plandok*, by mistake, thought that he was his rival and had outstripped him.

This deception was practised on the mouse-deer, at the third and fourth posts. In this way, the mouse-deer, having been deceived by his competitors and by his friends, ran so continuously and quickly that he fell down, exhausted and died.

Thus *Omong* was declared Champion over all the animals. ⁶

When we consider the seventy types or story radicals, fixed by the Folk-lore Society of London. (Vide Burnoe's *Handbook of Folk-lore*, edition of 1914, pp. 344-355), we find that the group of *Beast-Apologues*, which forms the subject matter of this paper, has not been studied and classified under its proper category by European and American Storiologists. As the result of my

⁶ Vid. *Studies in Religion, Folk-lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* by Ivor. H. Evans, M. A. London, Cambridge University Press (1923) pp. 127-129.

study of this group of Folk-tales, I propose to fix the following story-radical for it :—

(i) An animal of superior strength expresses contempt for a creature of inferior strength and size.

(ii) The creature of inferior strength and size, challenges the former to prove his strength and superiority by running a race with him.

(iii) The animal of superior strength accepts the challenge and runs the race.

(iv) The creature of inferior strength and size, by trickery, stations friendly creatures of his at different stages of the course, and directs them to answer the superior animal's call when he would arrive at their respective posts. This they accordingly do.

(v) The animal of superior strength and size, having been deceived in this way, mistakes his responders to be his real rival, and runs the race so quickly, that he becomes exhausted and falls down dead.

I therefore, name the stories possessing the afore-mentioned story-radical as folk-tales of *The Tiger and the Snail Type*".

I hope, that the Storiologists of Europe and America, will accept the Story-radical and nomenclature as fixed by me above.

From what I have said above, it would further appear, that the foregoing folktales are current in the Manipur Valley, the Khasia Hills, the Santhal Perganas, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and British North Borneo—countries which are separat-

ed by long distances and wide expanses of ocean. Now the question arises, how these stories having similar ideas embodied in them, came to be prevalent in those countries? Were they borrowed from each other? or were they evolved independently in each of these countries?

There is no evidence to show whether, within the historic period, there has been any contact between the Chirus, the Khasis, the Santhals, on the one hand, and the Sinhalese, the Malayas, and the Dusuns on the other. Consequently these stories could not have been borrowed by the aforementioned peoples from each other. Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that these parallel folk-tales were evolved independently in each of the aforementioned countries, for primitive men, placed in the same level of culture and filling the same sort of necessity, evolved similar devices for supplying their wants, and evolved the same kind of story for inculcating the same kind of lessons and morals.

Postscript.

Since writing the above, I have come to know that there are current in the Fijii Islands, two variant's of the fore-going tales which are entitled "*The Crane and the Crab*" and "*The Crane and the Butterfly*", two versions named "*The Frog and the Wild Hog*" and "*The Chamelion and the Wild Hog*" which are current in Madagascar, a third Sinhalese variant of the aforementioned folktales entitled "*The Lion and the Turtle*" from Ceylon,

and a version named "*Phaya Kruth (Garuda) and the Nāgas (Snakes)*" which is current in Siam.

As abstracts of these variants from the Fijii Islands, Madagascar, Ceylon and Siam have been given by Mr. W. A. Clouston in his "*Popular Tales and Fiction*" (published by William Blackwood and Sons in 1887 from Edinburgh and London in two volumes) at pages 266-273 of Volume I, I have not given herein the summaries thereof. But on a study of this variant, I am of opinion that my preceding remarks given in the body of this paper, apply to these stories exactly and that the story-radical fixed by me above, fits in with this variant with exactness.

III. FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF INDIA.

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It is proposed to give in this paper a classified account, as far as the present state of our knowledge allows, of the funerary monuments and practices in India. But not all funerary monuments of India are treated here. Thus the Buddhistic and Muhammedan structures erected for funerary purposes are left out of account. Principally those funerary monuments are dealt with which are generally designated megalithic monuments; but I have thought it desirable to avoid the use of this last term for the simple reason that the account includes many monuments that are non-megalithic. I take as the basis the usual classification of these monuments with some modifications the rationality of which will be discussed in the last part of the paper.

(1) *Rock-cut Tombs*.—All the known examples of such tombs in India are vertically cut from the rock, and not horizontally in the vertical face of the rock. An elaborate rock-cut tomb was discovered near Calicut in Malabar. It consists of a hall cut in the rock to which access is given by means of a staircase. In front—west by the compass—there are two entrances to two cells. There are two more entrances to two similar cells—one on each side of the hall. The entrances to the west cells, therefore, open on the east. All the entrances are recessed, the depth of each recess being from

one inch to one inch and a half. In each cell are cut out in the solid rock what appear to be a bed, a bench, a stool and a fire-place. The hall is not roofed in like the cells but left open. The cells are half filled with earth. Under this were found small earthenware vessels and iron implements and household articles like hangers of lamps. There were quite a number of four-legged pots. They are more rounded than those discovered in the Coorg monuments and have each a conical lid. They were filled with earth well jammed in. The explorer thinks that the "constructors meant to provide for their deceased relatives dwellings as comfortable as they had been accustomed to in life." This strangely recalls the Egyptian conception of the house of the dead which was regarded as a representation of a dwelling-house and hence contained not only a bath-room but sometimes even a dummy latrine. We may go a step further and compare some details common to the two types—the stairway and the hall from which the chambers open.

I draw attention to the close affinity that the Malabar tomb bears to its Egyptian prototypes because it is likely to afford us some means of dating this rock-tomb. As will be evident from the figures of some of the Cretan rock-tombs referred to in the last part of the paper, these, being far simpler in plan, are essentially different from the Malabar example. Hence logically we may derive the Indian specimens from the Egyptian prototypes and not

from the Cretan ones, through the agency of the later Phœnicians. Professor Elliot Smith derives the rock-tombs of Sicily from Egypt. In Egypt the rock-cut tomb makes its first appearance during the IV Dynasty and the finest specimens belong to the Middle Kingdom. These two limits, then, may provide us with an approximate date for the rock-tombs of Malabar. I insist on this chain of argument because that is the only reasonable one in the case of Southern India where dating by means of cultural periods is sure to lead us astray as it has already done in the case of many investigators in this field; for in Southern India, the people immediately passed from the Neolithic Age into an Age of Iron. Hence we should not be surprised at the find of iron implements in the rock-tombs and similar monuments. The tomb under review seems to have been a family funerary place of a people who practised cremation. The explorer is inclined to regard such "caves" as of the same age as the dolmen.

A less elaborate type of rock-cut tomb also exists in Malabar. An example of it was discovered near Calicut. The tomb was approached by a vertical opening in the roof on the west side of the chamber. This opening was completely closed with blocks of stone covered with earth. The monument consisted of a circular chamber with a domed roof, supported in the centre "by a short round pillar tapering from the top to the bottom". The whole was cut out in the rock. "Cut into the north-west wall of the chamber,

close to the entrance, is a small recess, not unlike a little doorway". The walls are left in their natural state without being dressed. Cinerary urns were found on the floor. Among them were the usual four-legged vessels.

The type of rock-tomb that next comes up for description has a far wider distribution in India than the one already noticed, which is confined to Malabar. In this type three varieties may be distinguished.

(i) First come what are locally known as the *Kūta-Kallu* or *Kodi-Kal*, i. e., the umbrella-stone. The existence of such a tomb is indicated by a convex slab. This covers a chamber excavated in the ground. Access to this is given by a small stairway. It is closed by an upright stone at the bottom. The chamber contains a large cinerary urn of coarse earthenware half-baked. In this last feature modern India is linked up with prehistoric Malabar; for, at present the small urns used for the rites connected with the disposal of the dead are of unburnt clay. The mouth of the urn is closed by a small convex stone. The urn contained a smaller one and human ashes. In the excavation, at one side is a small shelf. On this shelf are placed beads, iron-implements and earthenware pots. This variety of rock-tombs is "frequent throughout the province of Malabar and extends above the ghats into Coimbatore, where it occurs in great numbers along the valley of the Noyel river". This type of sepulchre seems to have been practised only by people of position,

ordinary people simply burying the massive urns in the ground, generally on hill-sides. In these latter cases, occasionally we meet with urns placed in rocks just hollowed out to hold the urn. Similar jars are found in Travancore placed in square places cut in the laterite. This may serve as a transitional type leading us to the deep wells of Tinnevely.

(ii) In the next variety, we find on a rocky ground wells cut in rows each with a diameter of 4 to 9 ft. and a depth of 12 to 15 ft. Walls are left between them. The bottom of the well is concave with a small hole in the centre to hold the leg of the pyriform urn. Sometimes two urns are placed together. The excavations are filled up to the surface with gravel, or sometimes very large stones. There was no surface indication of their presence. "In a number of urns there were quantities of mica in pieces about an inch in size. Husks of rice and millet were found in quite a large number of pots inside the urns. All the implements and weapons are in iron; there are none in bronze." The funerary urns were large one-legged globular pots of thick red earthenware, less than 3 ft. in diameter and slightly greater in height. They are similar to those found in Pallāvaram in Chingleput and elsewhere. They have flat conical covers. Around the mouth is a rim very rarely impressed with the thumb-nail or incised with triangular or dotted ornaments. These tombs disclose two systems of disposal. The more general practice was to inter only a selection of

bones. When the corpse was buried whole it was placed in the "squatting or sitting position". None of the bones were calcined.

Some of the tombs, which, from the size of the burial urn and from other circumstances seem to have belonged to an individual of rank or importance, yielded gold diadems. These agree closely with the description of the diadems found at Mycenae except in this particular that they were apparently fastened with thread and not with gold-wire as the Mycenaean examples. A similar gold diadem was found in the mound at Lauriya in Champaran which is more in agreement with the Mycenaean diadems than these because it bears the representation of the Earth-goddess. Perhaps the Aryans brought some of these Mycenaean practices with them; for in the mound referred to have been definitely traced by Dr. Bloch, the explorer, some of the important items of Vedic funerary ritual. If the practice of using gold-diadems for the dead was brought by the Aryans we have at present no connecting links between Champaran and Tinnevely and hence these Southern Indian specimens still remain to be explained.

In this connection I may introduce another element of Mycenaean influence. Professor Elliot Smith points out that in some of the curious temples on Mahendragiri near Cuttack "one can detect the effects of Mycenaean accretions probably modified during its indirect transmission by Phoenician and later influences". But in view of the presence of gold

diadems, I think we cannot defer the influx of Mycenaean influence to such a late date. At any rate, though the connecting links must, for the present, remain obscure, it seems probable that in some of the funerary practices India was influenced by Mycenae. In this practice, again, prehistoric India lives in contemporary India. What is known in Tamil as *Pattayam Kattaradu*, i. e., "the tying of a plate" to the forehead of a corpse must have been a survival of the custom, though what is actually done, now-a-days, is to sprinkle some grains of gold and silver on the breast of the dead. Yet the complete custom lingers among some of those castes of the Madura district which fasten a plain rectangular strip of gold on the forehead of the dead.

There was a large find of iron tools and weapons in these tombs. They show a far greater variety and development than those generally found in other parts of India in such funerary monuments. The swords and daggers had spikes but the spears, arrows, etc., had each a hollow tube-handle. The axes had diagonal rings to keep the wooden handle in position.

(iii) The last variety of the rock-tomb is far more widely spread than any other. In some of the cairns at Sirumugai in Coimbatore district were discovered oblong chambers usually about 5 ft. long, 2 ft. wide and about 2 ft. deep, cut out in the natural rock. They face the east. Human remains, iron implements and pottery were found in the graves which were filled with red earth. In some was

found the peculiar four-legged pottery so common in Chingleput, Tinnevely and the West Coast. They contained red earth with minute fragments of bones. In these rock-tombs no traces of stone-implements were met with though in other cairns of the locality a few stone-flakes were discovered. In the tumulus-shaped cairns at Khera in Eastern Rajputana, in the centre of the tumulus was found a shallow oblong or trough-shaped cavity in the bed-rock. This cavity in some cases contained a layer of pale-coloured earth, or in some cases a fine yellowish sand, foreign to the locality, which must have been brought from somewhere else and placed in the cavity on purpose. Beneath this were ashes, calcined bones, and charred wood. At Satmas in the same region were also found rock-cut chambers. The chamber was excavated under the bottom of the cairn. It was a shallow rectangular pit "just sufficient in length, breadth and depth to contain the body of a man of low stature in a reclining position with knees somewhat drawn up. Not a single chamber was so much as 6 ft. in length and generally only about 5 ft." A grave of this type was discovered at Tontpur. Underneath an oblong cairn in the solid rock was excavated a cruciform cist. In it was discovered a skeleton lying almost extended on its back, with the knees just bent up. It lay West and East, the head being to the West.

(2) *Pure Dolmens*.—Under this title will be treated all funerary structures that are four-sided

and so closed as to have served as a resting place for the dead. In order to facilitate reference to constructional features I divide this group into two:—(i) one in which entire slabs set on end are used, and (ii) the other where the use of small stones laid in courses either supplements the orthostatic slabs or entirely replaces them.

(i) To start with the West coast, we have the so-called *Topikals* or capstones of Malabar. They consist of a pedestal composed of three stones tapering towards the top. Their exterior surfaces are rounded. They are closely fitted together forming the frustrum of a cone. Poised on their tops lies horizontally an immense oval or circular slab, its exterior surface being convex while the interior is slightly hollowed. In some of them that were opened, pieces of earthenware urns, iron implements and some gold ornaments were discovered. They are sometimes fully exposed, sometimes only half buried and sometimes only just show above the surface. Fergusson compares these structures with the dolmen of Gramont in Hérault. If the comparison is only meant to convey the idea of general resemblance in appearance it may be allowed; but even there it must be pointed out that it is not exact. What is common to these and such other monuments from Sweden and Spain is that their ground plan is circular and their sides have a batter. Further than this there is no resemblance between these structures. The dolmen of Gramont has got four side-stones, two of which do not touch the capstone and hence

the monument cannot be described as a closed chamber. Secondly, the covering slab had none of the special features of the Malabar examples which give the latter the appearance of a 'capstone'. Thirdly, the batter of the sides of the French specimen is very slight and in consequence the sides do not come very close together at the top. Hence even in general appearance the two types can be easily distinguished. These very characteristics differentiate the Malabar examples from such Swedish ones as that of Stala in the island of Oroust. Further the Swedish dolmen has got an entrance on the N. E. side. The Portuguese dolmen at Fonte Coberta on the Douro has got a symmetrically closed chamber and the sides incline inwards at the top. But it has got seven or eight side-slabs and a flat capstone.

Passing along the coast to Travancore we get more regular examples of dolmens. But unluckily we possess no detailed description of any of them. They are oriented N. and S. and have the hole in the southern slab. This aperture is closed by a small round stone closely fitting in with another acting as a lever. The Mala Arayans of Travancore to this day make similar cells of small stones, the whole forming a box a few inches square. On the death of a member of any family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass and silver image, which is shut into this vault. If the family is very poor an oblong smooth stone serves the purpose. The spirit is supposed to be thus enclosed and nobody will touch the cell except on the offerings-day.

Now we shall travel inland into Madura as no dolmens have yet come to light in Tinnevely. Here again, though closed dolmens are reported no proper description is available. Some of them are oriented N. E. and S. W., whilst others stand N. W. and S. E. As a group they are surrounded by a masonry wall of neatly squared stones fitted without mortar. They are arranged in rows. The space within the enclosure is filled with earth and stones to a height of a few feet. The few that were examined yielded nothing. Perhaps they were already rifled. Embedded in the rubble that fills the space between the enclosing circle and the rows of three-sided dolmens occur "stone receptacles, without tops, made of four upright slabs arranged in the form of a square with a fifth for flooring, and measuring some three feet each way and five feet in height".

In the district of Coimbatore occur hundreds of cairns. They are generally surrounded by double, triple and even fourfold circles of stones. In the interior of these cairns were structures described as cists but which, it is evident, were not excavations but dolmens completely covered by the tumulus. A typical dolmen measured 10 feet high, 10 ft. wide and somewhat more in length. It was divided lengthwise by a lower partition slab into two compartments. These were again longitudinally divided by still lower slabs into four parts. The bottom was paved with great slabs. Other structures were divided only into two compartments, the longitudinal divisions

being absent. One dolmen with its sides inclining inwards at the top and supporting a huge capstone looked like a monstrous mushroom. The hole, sometimes nearly square, always occurs in the larger dolmens and very seldom in the smaller ones. It is very often found in the eastern slab, sometimes in the western and sometimes again in the northern slab. The aperture is from 1 ft. to 2 ft. in width. Sometimes it is irregular and placed just below the capstone. The dolmens were filled with finely sifted sand like the vaults under the *Topikals* of Malabar. Pottery was of the usual megalithic type found all over Southern India. "Earthenware rings and stands of all sizes for vessels with round or pointed bottoms are exceedingly abundant in the tombs." This device is not now in evidence. Iron is the only metal found in these burial sites. "A necklace of small sea-shells was found in a Nalampatti grave. Colonel Meadows Taylor mentions having exhumed one in the Deccan...Some cores of wrist-bangles (presumably of chank?) resembling those now worn by women were also discovered". These are perhaps the earliest instances known in Southern India of the use of shells for ornamental purposes; and if the argument set forth by Professor Elliot Smith about the spread of the use of these shells be correct then they are of peculiar importance.

If we have to hold that such use of these shells started from Egypt, the fact that in these two localities—that of Southern Deccan and of Coimbatore—the necklace occurs at least in one

dolmen each, lends some support to the theory of Professor Elliot Smith that the dolmens are ultimately derivable from the funerary monuments of Egypt. The discovery of the chank-bangle is equally, if not more, interesting; for this is the only really prehistoric find of it.* James Hornell has noticed its occurrence in the burial sites of Tinnevely and Chingleput; but, as he points out, though these sites are regarded as prehistoric there is great doubt about their age and sometimes they have been ascribed to some centuries immediately after the Christian era, on what grounds one knows not. Other prehistoric finds of chank are all surfacial and though the cores and worked pieces of shell have been found on indisputably neolithic sites, Hornell is disposed to attribute the working of chank-shells to the late Iron Age, for in the early Iron Age the implements would be crude and not fitted for shells. One ventures to question the logic of this argument but the climax is yet to come. Hornell, not being satisfied with dating these shell-workings according to cultural periods, goes on to speculate about their absolute dates. Thus the Deccan bangle-fragments he would ascribe to the "first few centuries before or after the beginning of the Christian era". No arguments can be put forward in support of this statement excepting, perhaps, the tacit one from the dating of the culture-periods in Western Europe. But it is a notorious fact

* A number of chank-bangles have been recently found in some supposed "Indo-Sumerian" mounds of the Indus valley.—*Editor*.

that the cultural development of Southern India cannot be made to fit in with that of prehistoric Western Europe and, therefore, to introduce argument from Western European data would be highly absurd.

We are not left to this merely negative criticism but can point out some positive evidence for inferring that the use of shells for ornamental purposes dates back much earlier. We get some stratigraphical and hence unimpeachable evidence from the excavations of Sir J. Marshall at Bhiṭā near Allahabad. There were found some fragments of bangles—"some plain and others with ornamental grooves on the outside"—; but they are not properly dated: so also is a "portion of a shell from which bracelets have been cut". A small ring of shell was found in trench No. 42, 16 ft. below the surface which can be dated. The explorer dates articles found in a stratum 11 ft. below the surface as from the 5th century B. C. while those found 20-21 ft. below surface are dated in the 8th century B. C. We may, therefore, confidently place the shell ring in the 7th century B. C. Hornell has insisted on the fact that southern Deccan was the home of the shell-cutting industry in prehistoric times. From this we may reasonably conclude that the people of Bhiṭā owed their custom of using shell-bangles or rings to an influence from the South. On this reasoning the working and use of shells in the Southern Deccan may have to be pushed back to at least the 8th century B. C.

A question that arises in this connection is quite legitimate, viz., how to account for the fact that in the very home of the shell-cutting industry, the dolmens, which also centre in this region, contain no shells excepting these two examples? It seems the use of shell had not become quite general when the megalithic structures of Southern India were being erected. If this reasoning is correct it will furnish us with means of approximately dating these monuments. In the Nilgiris, the closed dolmens are found at only one place—on the slopes below Kotagiri on the Coimbatore side. All are very much alike. They have a regular aperture, 9 inches in diameter, in the eastern slab. Some of them, 5 feet in height, were nearly buried in earth. They contain small urns. In Coorg, we have the famous dolmen, which has been compared by Fergusson with that of Plas Newydd in Wales. It consists of seven slabs altogether. The capstone is 13 ft. long, 9 ft 9 inches broad, and 7" or 8" thick. The back is formed by one slab. The slabs form the two sides. The front is composed of two slabs. The whole is divided breadthwise into two lateral compartments by the seventh slab in the middle, projecting in the front about 2' 8". The apertures are in the eastern slabs. They are irregularly segmental and just below the superincumbent stone. Fergusson's comparison is rather misleading, there being more points of dissimilarity than of similarity. First of all, the Welsh example is not a pure dolmen in so far as each of

its sides is formed by more slabs than one and the cover by two stones. Secondly, the front slab is only one. Again, there is no certainty about the nature of the apertures as the front is not in a good condition. The description of the apertures, given by the explorer, leads one to think that they are essentially different from those in the Coorg specimen. The Plas Newydd example is the only one of its kind in which there are two holes in one stone. The holes are about 10" in diameter. "We cannot with any certainty say that the stone (front) had been of one piece, or that the holes had been perfect circles. About three-quarters appear to remain, and from the circumstance that this stone on the north side reaches within 7" of the covering stone at the top, we may, I think, conclude that it was originally one perfect stone, which closed the entrance to the chamber". Thus, the aperture does not seem to have been cut in the upper extremity of the front slab just under the superincumbent stone as in the dolmen of Coorg. Hence in the only external feature of similarity—that of the aperture—the two monuments are quite distinct. Further, the Welsh specimen has evident traces of a sort of an antechamber. About the feature of the compartments Fergusson observes, "If the Welsh one was so partitioned, the wall has disappeared." Surely we cannot base our comparisons on features that have disappeared without leaving any traces. On the other hand, we have got reasons to think

that even if the Welsh example was partitioned, its compartments would have differed from those of the Coorg one. The compartments in the Welsh dolmen could not have been later; for the two capstones leave a gap of 6" running breadthwise, and hence, if there was a dividing slab it could have fitted in here making two compartments, one in front of the other. The breadth of the dolmen at its front end being only 3' 0½", it is highly improbable that it should have had lateral compartments made by a slab running lengthwise.

In Central Mysore, on the south and western sides of the *Sāvandūrḡa* rock, stone-circles of all sizes up to 30 ft. in diameter surrounding buried or half-buried cists occur in abundance. The commonest type is a cist of oblong shape, a foot or two above the ground, surrounded by stones just a little above the surface. The cists have lengths double their breadth. They generally lie E. and W. on their longer axis. The sides are formed of thin slabs hammer-dressed at three edges. The fourth edge—the right-hand one, when looked at from outside—is left projecting beyond the adjacent wall. The capstone is a huge undressed slab projecting on all sides, but especially on the east and south. The side-slabs rest on a single flat stone serving as the floor. The side-stones measure from 5' to 10' in length, 4' 6" to 5' 6" in height and from 2" to 6" in thickness. The capstone is from 8' to 14' long, 7' to 10' wide, and from 6" to 16" thick. The dimensions of the chamber thus formed are: from 6' to 9' long, 3'

to 6' wide and 5' high. In the east-wall, very high up and rather nearer the northern corner, there is a hole large enough for a man to pass through. And there is also an entrance passage, walled off by thin slabs. A rounded shutter stone closes the hole and the passage is blocked up with earth. It seems from the slenderness of the side-slabs that before the capstone was put in position the chamber must have been surrounded by as well as filled with earth. The enclosing circle is formed of boulders 12' to 30' in diameter. A few of the circles are double or triple and are composed of upright or sloping slabs instead of boulders. A few dolmens stand entirely free of earth and are sometimes surrounded by a stone-circle. Generally a sort of a cairn or tumulus is met with only in those cases where the surrounding circles are more than one in number. In that case the outer circle is only a little above the ground, the next one being higher and the last still higher.

The description of the dolmen given above will have made it quite clear that the structure is quite peculiar. Hence I shall go into further details about it. To the explorer the ground plan recalled the *Swastika* symbol. This type occurs not only in Mysore but also in Coorg, North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem. Whatever the origin of the *Swastika* symbol may be, one thing is quite certain, viz, that the earliest representation of it—somewhere about 1800 B. C.—occurs in the remains of Mycenæ. The geographical distribution

of the symbol has been fully dealt with in the work referred to but owing to the lack of material available in a ready form at that time, the references to the occurrence of the symbol in prehistoric India are scanty.

As the result of some recent work we are in a position to add some authentic cases of the prehistoric occurrence of the *Swastika* symbol on Indian soil. One with specific affinities with the Trojan form of the symbol* was discovered on an iron-age site in Mysore. The symbol appears rudely scratched twice on a small vase taken from a dolmen in Coorg and placed in the Bangalore Museum. It exactly resembles some of the Mycenaean prototypes reproduced by Dr. Wilson in his work on this symbol. Another example is that found on pottery from a dolmen in Coimbatore. But this specimen is just at present in a melting-pot as the result of Yazdani's work on the marked pottery of Southern India, where he brings together all the marks, including this one, found on the prehistoric ceramics.

The generic likeness of the plan of the dolmen, above noticed to the *Swastika* symbol may be readily granted, but the question is whether we can derive this form from the more usual form of the symbol. Personally, I do not think that this form can at all be demonstrated as being derived from the usual *Swastika*; and Dr. Wilson is, perhaps, of the same opinion; for, while describing an ornamental form of the above type from Anglo Saxon England he calls it a "simula-

tion of *Swastika*". Further, Dr. Wilson observes: "A figure having great similarity to this, even in its peculiarities and *called* a *Swastika*, was found on a shell in Toco mound, Tennessee". On pages 906-07 of Dr. Wilson's work are given three interesting figures from Mississippi and Tennessee which are highly complicated and in complete agreement with one another. Dr. Wilson rightly sees in the heads of the wood-peckers peculiarly arranged a representation of the regular *Swastika*. But in the figure—which exactly agrees with those noticed above—from which these heads project he sees nothing but a square with ornamental corners. I think that this square is the type of *Swastika* which occurs in Anglo-Saxon England and in the Toco mound. This combination of the two types of the *Swastika* in the pre-Columbian culture of America is specially to be noted; for the recent work of J. W. Jackson and of Professor Elliot Smith has tended to prove the vast influence that the civilization of ancient India exerted on that of pre-Columbian America.

In India itself, in the Marāṭha country a figure like the square type referred to above, and another degraded, an analogue of which occurs in the Iberian peninsula, are both drawn in those figures which women make with rice-flour by way of decoration. They call them the *Swastika* or more generally the legs of the elephant-headed god Ganesha folded in a seat. In the latter name we can clearly see a later elaboration. Taking, then, that a figure like the American

one, is general in Southern India, as an alternative form of the *Swastika*, may we not connect it with the dolmen of the peculiar projections noted above? I think the close affinity—nay identity—between the two needs no demonstration. The one can easily be seen to be an ornamental form of the other. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that this special form of the *Swastika* of limited distribution but of frequent occurrence in a part of the world, which was influenced by ancient India and still surviving in contemporary Southern India, is only an ornamental development of the plan of the dolmen under review.

If this conclusion be granted, the funerary origin of one form of the *Swastika* will have been proved. I have made mention above of an elaboration of this form of the *Swastika* occurring in the Iberian peninsula. At first sight the two figures occurring on the sculptured stone "Piedra Formosa" at Briteiros in Portugal seem to negative the very characteristic of the *Swastika*, viz., that the corners should all be turned in one direction, right or left. But this is, I think, due to deterioration helped by certain transitional forms which we can easily picture to ourselves.

To return to the subject in hand, these dolmens were filled with hard red earth, which was of the same sort as the surrounding soil. In some cases the earth reached the top but in others there was a space of a few inches, especially towards the entrance. At 3' 5" below the capstone close to the middle of the north wall was discover-

ed a jar full of earth and beside it stood a row of jars of all sizes. In one of the larger jars there was a smaller one resembling the modern *chatti* in all respects excepting that its base was rather pointed and not globular as at present. It was 6" in diameter and height with a neck 3" wide. It contained grey earth mixed with ashes. The outside of this vessel, "like most of the finer pottery from these kistvaens, is black and polished above the bulge, light red below, and ornamented with a few faint horizontal lines round the bulge and the neck". On the splay between these two bands are to be met with some marks similar to those found on pottery from similar structures. There were also discovered two crystal sharp-edged cutters or scrapers and some bones of birds and fowl. At the depth of 4' 10" lay a stone closely touching the south and east sides and leaving a trench on the west and the north. It was 6" or 8" above the real floor. We may speak of it as the bed-slab. There were jars containing charcoal and bones imbedded in hard earth. One of them contained the remains of a small millet. Along the south side a human skeleton in the flexed position lying on the right side with head to the east was found in a very dilapidated condition. Among the pottery two curious horn-shaped polished jars deserve special mention. In the trench were found, point downwards, ten flat, pointed and barbed arrow-heads of iron with sockets. The socket was well made. There was also a plain taper tang apparently of steel, absolutely free

from corrosion. The index of the skull was 73.3. The find under the bed-slab consisted of miniature pottery and iron implements. Among these latter, one dagger-blade with copper fillet on its guard is specially to be noted as being the only instance known, so far south, of copper being in any way used in connection with implements. It also shows that, in those days, to the people of Mysore copper was more valuable than iron and it was reserved for the decoration of weapons. In Egypt when iron was being first introduced, it was thought to be so valuable that it was used for the most important part of the implement—the blade—bronze being freely employed for other parts. In other dolmens only calcined bones in vases were found. Some of the dolmens were oriented S. E. and N. W. Some of the dolmens, surrounded by stone-circles, had arch-stones on the entrance-side at the inner edge of the stone-circle. These arches are of thin slabs of dark-stone, roughly shaped by hammer-dressing into a rounded arch. They varied 3' to 5' above ground and 6' 6" to 8' wide. In east Mysore dolmens are found enclosed by four great arch-shaped slabs 9' or 10' high, set up parallel to and a little apart from, the four walls of the dolmen.

Fifty-four dolmens have been reported from the village of Mashalli, 50 miles from Bangalore. They are buried in earth. In the eastern slab was the usual circular or semi-circular orifice. The dimensions of those opened were: 6' 2" to 11' long, 4' to 5' 8" broad and 4' high. The diameter

of the orifice was about 1' 8". "The covering slab projected 1 to 2 ft over the entrance. Inside was all earth jammed in. On the western side was the usual pottery. Some of the vessels had an elegant beading, consisting of successive arrow-headed lines between two rings". Here was also found the only specimen of a pot with a handle. The large urns were 2' 9" high and 5' 11" in central circumference. One of them was of unburnt clay. Similar dolmens were discovered at Kolar. At Udenhally there were nearly 200 holed dolmens with their tops just visible. They were exactly like the closed dolmens of the Nilgiris.

Travelling to the eastern side we find some dolmens in South Arcot. Near Kollūr, 40 miles from the sea were discovered three dolmens, only one of which was fairly above ground. It consisted of four granite slabs forming a chamber 4' 3" high, 6' 4" long, 3' 6" broad. The covering slab measured 1' thick, 10' 6" long and 8' 9" wide. The entrance which was by means of a space about a foot wide left between one of the side slabs and one of the end slabs was through the side and not the end. In another dolmen, however, which was half-underground, there was a circular aperture 18" in diam. in its eastern slab. In the interior of this dolmen were pots arranged in a regular row. "The vessels were of red and black colours and were nearly all glazed or polished, outside and inside. They were very well made, the clay being of excellent quality". Be-

sides them there was also a trough apparently of clay about 4' long 15" wide and 9" deep with rounded edges. It had fifteen heavy legs 1" in thickness. At Devnur similar troughs were found in dolmens of a like type. In one dolmen there were two of these, one smaller than the other, the bigger one being 4½' length. In it were discovered fragments of bone and scraps of iron. "In every case the singular opening in the eastern stone was found". They measured 8' long, 6½' broad and 7½' high. Both at Kallur and Devnur the dolmens were surrounded by concentric rings of stones. At the latter place the monuments occupy a space of 3 or 4 acres.

In North Arcot near Chittor an area of more than a square mile was covered by these sepulchre remains. The dolmen was formed by six slabs: 1 cover, 1 floor and 4 sides. It is usually surrounded by one or two circles of stones. Earth is often piled in the interior and round the sides. The dimensions of the interior were: 9¼' long, 7¼' broad and 5'—5½' high. The capstone was 13' by 12'. It projected 18" beyond the side walls. The dolmen is oriented N. E. and S. W. in general with the circular orifice of 18" diam. in the N. E. slab. Other dolmens had different orientations, in one case the aperture being in the S. E. slab while in another in still another direction. These dolmens had sarcophagi for holding the bodies. They were placed on the floor and were covered to the depth of three or four feet with earth. The structure is generally not more than 2 ft.

above ground. The slabs bore no chisel marks.

At Panduvaran Dewal was discovered in a dolmen, a sarcophagus—a coffin-shaped trough rounded at the edges $6\frac{1}{2}'$ long 10" deep, and $1'10''$ to 2' broad. Under it were found iron tools and weapons. It was supported on 8 terracotta legs $1'3''$ high and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diam. at the top but tapering gradually at the bottom which terminated in two convex rims. The sarcophagus closely resembles some found on the mount of Gehrarch near Bagdad. Such sarcophagi are found in Chingleput, Nellore; South and North Arcot.

Other sorts of structures from this same district have been described by other investigators. The peculiarity of these is that they have several circles of erect thin slabs alternately round and flat-topped arranged in concentric rings—two or three around each dolmen. Usually four round-headed slabs are placed parallel to the four sides of the dolmen so as almost to touch the projecting parts of the capstone. The four corners in the enclosure are filled with close-fitting flat-topped slabs. The slab opposite the holed side of the dolmen possesses a hole in a line with the aperture of the dolmen. The space between the holed side of the dolmen and the holed slab of the enclosure is walled in on both sides. The aperture in the slabs of the enclosures are occasionally as small as 4" or 5" in diameter. The next enclosure is a more regular ring of 16 slabs, alternately round-topped and flat-topped—the former being 5' or 6' high, the latter reaching as far only as the semi-circular

turn of the former. The third ring is formed by 24 small slabs. This circle is generally 30' in diameter. The spaces between the rings are about 3' wide and packed with pieces of stone to a height of about 2' to 4'—the greater height being always for the inner rings. Sometimes the outer rings have also the holes but not in a line with the hole of the dolmen and more often they have got only semi-circular depressions in the easternmost slabs of each ring.

In the Iralabanda necropolis there are nearly 600 monuments. In the district of Bellary were counted altogether 1567 pure dolmens out of which 1183 were holed specimens. But we have got descriptions of very few. Some description of three dolmens from Kosgi is available. The one which was more than half-buried in the ground was 5' N. and S. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' E. and W. and 4' high. The slab on the southern side was quite loose and could be removed and replaced very easily, the only operation required being the clearing away of some earth at its base. The interior was filled with earth which yielded no find. Such small dolmens had no hole and were oriented E. and W. Two larger dolmens had holes in their southern slabs. The dimensions of the interiors of two were 5' long, 4'— $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad and 6' high. One of them had a pavement slab $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' long $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad leaving a space of 6" broad on the eastern and southern sides. This space was filled with stones and rubbish. Small dolmens half buried in the ground are reported from Guliguta in the Dharwad dist.

At Konur in the Belgaum dist. were discovered dolmens of a very special importance. Each of the structures was formed of five stones. The capstone measured 1' thick, 8' long and 4' 2" to 8' broad; the two side-stones were $4\frac{1}{2}'$ long each and 3' 8" high. The back-stone measured 4' 3" long while the front was formed by two stones "about two feet wide each". "The cell within is thus 2' 9" wide in front, 4' 3" at the back and 4' long by 3' 8", high. The entrance at the south and between the front stones is 18" wide". Thus these dolmens would appear to be wedge-shaped the only examples so far known of this type in India. From the door two lower slabs extend to about $3\frac{1}{2}'$ forming a passage to the entrance. In those cases where the whole structure was covered over with a mound there was a low covered passage by which the cell could be reached. These are also the only known examples of corridor-tombs in India. "The entrances are all to the south or a little to the west of it". Thirty or forty (30 or 40) examples have been met with at this locality.

At Iwullee near Badami in Kaladgi district there are many dolmens. In this locality they are not covered by any tumulus and are bigger than those of Konur. There is no covered passage or door but only a round hole in one of the slabs.

In the Raichore district on the hill of Yemmee Gooda there were nearly one hundred dolmens both closed and three-sided. Many of them were of large size and four of the largest were enclosed

by double circles of large stones. The North and South orientation predominates but there are erections in every direction. In the matter of the orifice no preference is given to any one quarter. Dimensions of a typical dolmen were: 8' 5" long: 8' 5" high and 6' 5" broad. There were also other remains nearby. One was a triple tomb each compartment being 7' long and 3' broad. The covering was formed by two stones. There were two examples of double tombs. In one of them the compartments were 7' long and 2' broad while in the other they measured 6' 5" in length and 2' in breadth. There are other tombs which appear to be sunken cists. In Shorapoor district the larger of the two groups of these monuments occupies about five acres of ground. At Rajunkolloor the chamber is 6' long by 4' broad. The side slabs measure 12' by 9'. The capstone is 12' by 10' 6"—no measurements of the end slabs are available. Many of them have round holes 4" to 9" in diam. in the centre of the slab on the south side. The sides and the capstone project both ways. They were built on bare rock. The stones of which these structures were formed were very hard, quarried from a locality over three miles distant. They contained greyish white earth evidently brought from another place, "as it did not exist on the spot." They contained funerary urns.

At Huggeritgi, four miles west of Rajunkolloor were discovered 23 dolmens. In general they exactly agree with those of Rajunkolloor. They are formed of Limestone which can be very easily

worked and quarried. The capstone projects over the sides in all directions. Only one had a portico which was formed by two upright slabs one on either side of the hole. Its dimensions were as follows: side-slabs, 15' 6" long, 6' 6" high, 4" thick; end slabs 6' long, capstone 11' 3" long, 7' 4" broad. The floor was made of slabs. The sides were let into the ground about 2' so that the structure above ground appeared to be only 5' high. The side slabs project a good deal on the back and only a little on the front.

In two other dolmens the plans of which are given by N. Taylor the lengthwise side slabs project a little both ways. One of the dolmens contained large urns, the dimensions of one of them being 3' 9" high and 2' 3" in diameter. They contained ashes, charcoal and fragments of bones. About the general disposition of these remains Meadows Taylor observes: "All the groups of cairns, cromlech or kistvæns, which I have found in the Dekkan, have been placed upon ground which slopes gently to the south. In this respect I have observed no variation anywhere".

Dolmens proper are reported from the Upper Godavari and Krishna districts. They seem to have had no hole or opening and were covered by a cairn and surrounded by stone-circles one having as many as 8 concentric circles. Some of them were sunk in the ground from 2' to 4'. In dimensions they varied from 1' 6" long to 6' long by 1' to 2' broad. While some contained skeletons lying on the right side with head to the

north others yielded urns with burnt bones. In some of the dolmens beads "apparently made of ivory" were discovered.

Dolmens bearing close affinities with those of Rajunkelloor have been reported from Katapur near Nirmul, "about half-way between Hyderabad and Nagpore". From Fergusson's woodcut it seems that they are of the closed type with the cap-stone projecting all way. Kistvaens i. e., closed dolmens, containing stone coffins, urns, etc., seem to have been discovered in the district of Chanda in the Central Provinces though now no trace of them would seem to have been left. Doubtful examples of this type are recorded in the district of Seoni: "The oldest objects in the District are perhaps some cromlechs near Sarekha consisting of large stone slabs standing four or five together with another laid along their tops, and arranged in circles forty or fifty ft. in diameter". Dolmen near Nagpore have been also referred to.

At Khera, Eastern Rajputana, the flat-topped cairns contain above ground small square chambers. The cairns are constructed of small stones laid in courses, in shape like a truncated pyramid, surmounted by slabs at top. The chambers contained some ashes and charred wood. Similar structures were found at Satmas. The chambers in these cairns were very small the mean dimensions of two of them being "2 ft. 4 ins in height by about 2 ft. in diameter". At Deosa a dolmen was surrounded by a stone-circle. The dimensions of the dolmen were: 6 ft. square, 4 ft. high. The sides

were composed of entire slabs set on end and the cover was formed by two slabs.

The Khasis in the north-eastern part of India have got cineraria where the partially buried bones of any member of the clan are deposited with great ceremony. They are generally square or oblong in shape but sometimes also circular. The structure seems to be a completely closed one with no holes or windows. Access to the interior is given by "removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front".

From North Arcot another variety of dolmens, interesting from the point of view of construction, is also described. The chamber is generally 10 ft. square and 3 ft. high above ground. The roofing slab measures 12 ft. each way with a thickness of a foot at the edges and more than 2 ft. in the middle. This is raised on several upright stones 10" thick which are let into the soil. They have not been dressed so as to make them fit squarely but the interstices are filled with small stones mixed with clay or other soil. "The wall upon the eastern side presents a door-like opening, about 20" wide between the stones which close that side". At two places in this district there is nearly a square mile of the country covered with these monuments arranged in parallel lines.

At Michari in Eastern Rajputana on the summit of a hill was discovered an oblong dolmen whose sides were formed by small stones arranged in courses. The interior yielded nothing but some bone ash, a stone ball and rude flakes of stone.

(To be continued in the next number.)

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS:
ON A RECENT INSTANCE OF THE METHOD
OF DIVINATION BY MEANS OF A
BEWITCHED CUP.

The art of divination consists in performing certain rites and ceremonies for the special purpose of finding secrets whether present, past or future. But so far as this art is practised in connection with the judicial procedure, it is the recognized method of detecting crimes and criminals and, in Africa, of witches. But in India, the divination is resorted to only for the purpose of finding out the perpetrators of ordinary crimes such as theft, and the concealment of stolen goods. *

Although both divination and ordeal are practised for the purpose of discovering truths, yet there is a good deal of difference between them. Divination is practised by a third party for the purpose of fixing the guilt of a crime on a particular person whereas the ordeal is undergone by the person himself who is accused of a certain crime, for the purpose of proving his innocence.

In the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal, as also in other parts of the same province, there is prevalent a curious mode of divining for finding out thieves and the property stolen by them by

* Divination for finding out witches and agents of sickness and death is also prevalent in many parts of India.—*Editor.*

means of a bewitched cup. The rites performed in connection with this method of divination, are as follows :—

The diviners mutter certain magical spells upon a brass-cup. Then one of the diviners places one of his hands in contact with the bewitched cup. It is alleged that the bewitched cup with the diviner's hand touching it, will go by the same way as that along which the thief has gone away and that it will ultimately enter the thief's house. It is further alleged that by this method the thief will be tracked out.

Taking advantage of this superstitious belief in the efficacy of the method of divination by means of a bewitched cup, certain persons in the Manikgunj Sub-division of the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal, performed the rite of bewitching a brass-cup. One of the diviners, placing his hand in contact with the said cup is stated to have been led by it to the house of a person by the name of Hem Chandra Basu Ray, who was suspected of having stolen some property belonging to one of the diviners. The said Hem Chandra Basu Ray brought a charge of criminal trespass against the said diviners on the ground that the latter had performed this rite maliciously and falsely for purpose of molesting him. Believing the complainants' allegation to be correct, the trying Magistrate of Manikgunj, convicted the accused who had gone with the bewitched cup to the complainant's house, and fined him Rs. 40. as will appear from the following interesting account

of this case which has been published in the Bengali daily newspaper *The Dainik Basumati* of Tuesday the 22nd Paush, 1331 B. S. corresponding to the 6th January 1925. A. D.

मन्त्रवले चोरधरा । अद्भुत कुसंस्कार ।

हरेन्द्र मोहन नियोगी नामक जनैक लोक अनधिकार प्रवेश करिवार अभियोगे माणिकगञ्ज्जर एकजन डेपुटी म्याजिस्ट्रेटर एजलासे अभियुक्त हइयाहिल । विचारे ताहार ४० टाका जरिमाना हय । एइ दण्डादेशेर विरुद्धे हाइकोर्टे आपील करा हइयाहिल । गत ५इ जानुयारी हाइकोर्टेर विचारपति आयुत बिपिन बिहारी घोष ओ निउबोडलेर एजलासे एइ आपीलेर मुनानी हईया गियाहे । विचार-पतिरद्वय आपील नामजुर करियाहेन । प्रकाश, आसामी ओ चार कयेकजन लोक चोराइ मालेर अनुसन्धानेर लय बाटिचाखा दियाहिल । एइ प्रकार एकटा कुसंस्कार बाहे, कोन जिनिस चुरी करिया चोर ये पये याय एइ बाटि ओ मन्त्रवले सेई पय दिया चलिया याय । एकजन लोकके मान् एइ बाटि स्पर्श करिया पाकिने हय । एइभावे आसामी वादी आयुत हेमचन्द्र बहु रायेर एहे प्रवेश करियाहिल बलिधा प्रकाश, वादीपत्तेर कथा सेई ये, आसामी श्रुतावगतः साहाके उत्पत्त करिवार लक्ष्ये एइ प्रकार करियाहिल । मन्त्रवले बाटि चले इइए एकद्वारे भूया । विचारपतिद्वय वादी पत्तेर कथाय विश्वास करिया आपील नामजुर करियाहेन ।

Detecting thief by means of
Magical Spells.

A STRANGE SUPERSTITION.

A person named Harendra Mohan Niyogi was criminally prosecuted on a charge of having

committed criminal trespass, before one of the Deputy Magistrates of Manikgunj (in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal). As a result of this prosecution, he was fined Rs. 50. Against this sentence, he preferred an appeal before the High Court (of Calcutta). On the 5th January (1925), this appeal came on hearing before Justices Bipin Behari Ghose, and Newbold. The Judges dismissed this appeal.

It is stated that the appellant along with several other persons resorted to the method of divination by means of a bewitched cup for the purpose of finding out stolen property. There is a superstitious belief that the bewitched cup, that is to say, a cup over which magical spells have been uttered, will move along the same way by which the thief goes away after stealing some property. *A sine qua non* for the performance of this method of divination is that one of the diviners must keep his hand in contact with the bewitched cup. It is stated that the appellant had, in this way, criminally trespassed into the house of the complainant S^r. Hem Chandra Basu Ray. The complainant stated that the appellant had maliciously done this for the purpose of molesting him. The method of divination by means of a bewitched cup is a Mumbo-Jumbo ritual. On the faith of the complainant's statement, the Judges have dismissed the appeal.

It would appear from the foregoing account of the case that the complainant stated the aforementioned method of divination by means of a

bewitched cup to be a Mumbo-Jumbo ritual. This statement appears to be too sweeping a condemnation of the occult arts. Shakespear has very truly said :—

“There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy”.

From what I shall presently say, it would appear that instead of its being wholly a Mumbo-Jumbo ritual, there may be a substratum of truth in the afore-described method of divination by means of a bewitched-cup.

European travellers in the East have borne testimony to the fact that the Oriental practitioners of the occult arts, have performed before them feats of Magic which filled them with wonder but which they could not explain by their knowledge of European philosophy and science.

During his sojourn in Persia, Prof. E. G. Browne M. A., M. B. of Cambridge, witnessed some feats of magic which were performed by a Persian practitioner of the magic art with a Comb. He made the Comb in question come forward and recede backward at his beck and call. These feats, appeared to Prof. Browne to be inexplicable by science. Finally, the Persian magician promised to Prof. Browne, to perform a feat of magic which is very similar to the method of divination by means of a bewitched cup. He asked Prof. Browne to select any object he liked and to carry it in his garden, so that the place of its concealment would be known to the latter only. He then said that he would pronounce some

incantations over a brass-cup which would lead him to the spot where the article would be concealed, as will appear from the following passage extracted from Prof. Browne's fascinating book of travels entitled "*A Year amongst the Persians*" :—

The Magician Hāji Mirzā Muhsin, the Controller of Spirits and geni, expressed his willingness to prove to me the reality of that science concerning which I had doubt, and said that all that he could accomplish he did by virtue of powers centred in him, not as men affirmed by the instrumentality of the jinn, which indeed were mere creatures of the imagination and had no real existence. Then he asked for a comb, which was handed over to him. Then he enquired from me whether our men of learning were acquainted with any force inherent in the human body whereby motion might be communicated, without touch, to a distant object. I replied in the negative and said that, apart from the power of attraction latent in amber, the magnet and some other substances, we know of no such force existing in the human body. Thereupon, he undertook to demonstrate to me that he could make the comb come to me from the spot where it lay, adding at the same time, that though the distance in the case of the Comb was small and the object, light and easily moveable, these factors did not matter in the least and did not in the least degree weaken the force of his proof and that he could equally transport me from the garden where I lived to any place which I might choose".

"Having said so, he moistened the tip of his finger with his tongue, leaned over to the left and touched the comb once, after which he resumed his former position, beckoned to the comb with the fingers of his left hand and called "*Bi-yā, bi-yā*" (Come, Come). Thereat, to my surprise, the comb spun rapidly round once or twice and then began to advance towards him in little leaps, he continuing the while to beckon it onwards with the fingers of his left hand, which he did not otherwise move. So far one might have supposed that when he touched the comb with his moistened finger-tip, he had attached to it, a fine hair or strand of silk, by which, while appearing but to beckon with his fingers, he dexterously managed to draw the comb towards him.

"But now, as the comb approached within eighteen inches or so of his body, he extended his left hand beyond it continuing to call and beckon as before, so that for the remainder of its course, it was receding from the hand, always with the same jerky, spasmodic motion".

"Haji Muhsin, now returned the comb to its owner and requested me for the loan of my watch. I handed to him the clumsy, china-backed watch which I had bought at Teheran to replace the one which I had lost between Erziroum and Tabriz' and he did with it as he had done with the comb, save that, when he began to call and beckon to it, it made one rapid gyration and a short leap towards him and then stopped. He

picked it up, looked closely at it and returned it to me, saying, "There is something amiss with this watch of yours, it seems to me that it is a stolen property". In reply, I told him rather tartly that I had not stolen it but that I had bought it in Teharān to replace my own watch, which I had lost in Turkey and added that, of course I could not say how it had come into the hands of him from whom I had bought it. After this, the magician became very friendly with me promising to visit me in my lodging and "*show me feats far more marvellous than what I had just witnessed. "You shall select any object you choose".* said he, "*and bury it wherever you please in your garden, so that none but yourself shall know where it is hidden. I will then come and pronounce certain incantations over a brass-cup, which will then lead me direct to the place where the object is buried*". *

Prof. S. C. MITRA, M. A., B. L.

* *A Year amongst the Persians* by Edward G. Brown, B. A., M. B. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893, pp. 453-455.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Bombay from the 4th to the 9th of January last. A number of interesting papers were read in the Section of Anthropology, some of which are summarised below :—

1. *Pre-historic man in India. Kurnool Bone Caves* :—By L. A. CAMMIADÉ.

The profusion of paleolithic stations and the abundance of implements are proof that India was exceptionally well populated from the very earliest period of man's existence. This relative density of population is not surprising as according to most geologists, India enjoyed during the upper and lower paleolithic periods of Europe, a mild climate which did not differ essentially from that now prevailing. So far as is known, the Kurnool District in Madras is the only place in India, that furnished a promising field for investigation. The fossiliferous caves though discovered about 80 years ago by Captain Newbold and in 1884 by Mr. Bruce Foote may now be conveniently explored as a Railway line, which did not exist then, now cuts the northern extremity of the limestone hills with three railway stations in close proximity to the caves themselves.

2. *The light of Indian literature on communal antiquities in South India* :—By K. S. RAMA SWAMI SHASTRI.

1. The incubus of the assumptions and assertions of western scholarship.

2. What is Dravida and what is Tamil.
3. Rival theories about the origins of the Tamil people.
4. The light thrown on communal origins in South India by the ancient Tamil classics.
5. The significance of certain South Indian traditions.
6. The twisting of the Ramayana. Who are Rakshasas?
7. The unity of the Indian people.
8. Conclusion.

3. *Asurs, Ancient and Modern*:—BY SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

In this paper the author gives an account of the habitat, physical features and general characteristics, dress and ornaments, occupation, domestic life, social organization, religion and other customs and institutions of the Asurs who are small but interesting tribe of iron-smelters dwelling on the jungles and hills in the extreme west of the Ranchi District. He next refers to the traditions current among this tribe and also among other tribes of Chota-Nagpur about an ancient people of the same name and the prehistoric remains traditionally connected with them, and discusses their probable affinities with the existing races in and out-side India.

4. *Law of Jubilee*:—BY R. B. HIRALAL.

Shows the nature of the Law of Jubilee and cites a case which cropped up in the Bilaspur District of the Central Provinces, with a relic of

the same custom found in that country. Invites further investigation into the matter.

5. *Two recent instances of exorcism from Southern and Eastern Bengal*:—BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

Primitive men believed that diseases can be cured if the spirits which cause them, can be expelled or exorcised away. There is a certain class of professional men among them who are believed to be well up in the arts of sorcery and charming. They believe that it is they who by means of their charms and spells, can drive away the disease-demons or disease-spirits.

Traces of this animistic belief still survive among the women-folk of the countryside in Southern Bengal. These women believe that diseases are caused not by the violation of the laws of health but by the mischievous propensities of invisible spirits who are hovering about in the air. These spirits are under the control of the goddess Kali who lets them loose to torment a particular person who might have offended her deityship. If the goddess can be propitiated by suitable sacrifices and offerings, by appropriate prayers and incantation, she can be so far placated as to withdraw her myrmidons—the disease-demon—and thereby free the offending patients who have offended her.

A recent instance which illustrates in a remarkable manner, the prevalence of the afore-mentioned belief among the ignorant women-folk of Southern

Bengal occurred sometime ago in a village in the district of Howrah.

A detailed description of the rites connected with this case of disease-exorcism has been given, and the significance thereof has been discussed in this paper.

Ghosts are also expelled by the performance of rite of exorcism. A case recently occurred in the Munshiganj Subdivision in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal, wherein a person who was believed to be possessed by a ghost, was repeatedly plunged into the water of the tank under the belief that the ghost possessing him, would be expelled or exorcised away. But it turned out that on account of the repeated ducking which the possessed person had to undergo, he died. The persons who ducked the possessed person have been arrested and sent up for trial on a charge of manslaughter before the Sub-deputy Magistrate of Munshiganj.

It is popularly believed that witches and spirits cannot cross running water. This idea has originated from the primitive belief that the souls of deceased persons have to undergo great difficulty in crossing rivers while on their way to the other world.

The author thinks that the illiterate villagers of the Munshiganj Sub-division superstitiously believe that ghosts and other malignant spirits have an antipathy to water and cannot endure being plunged therein. They, therefore, repeatedly duck the person whom they suppose to be poss-

essed by a ghost in the water of the tank so that the ghost might leave him.

6. *On a Far-travelled Star-Myth*:—BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

In this paper, the author has discussed Santali, Munda and Malay aboriginal Star-myths which are very similar to each other. As a result of his discussion thereof he has brought out the following noteworthy features of these folktales.

1. In the Santali-myth, the sun and the moon are related to each other as husband and wife, in the Munda legend they are sisters, and in the Malay aboriginal myth the sun is a male and the moon a female, but the relationship between the two is not stated.

2. In all the three star-myths, the stars are stated to be children of the sun and the moon.

3. In the Santali and the Malaya myths, the moon plays a deceptive trick upon the sun and persuades the latter to devour his own children—the stars. But in the Munda legend, the moon kills the stars who are the children of her sister the sun, and, by telling a false story deceives the latter into eating a portion of the flesh of her own children.

4. In all the three star-myths, the stars together with their father (or mother?), the sun, are stated to be very hot and scorching and between themselves made the earth uninhabitable for living beings and would not allow any vegetation to grow. In order that the earth might become

suitable for the habitation of mankind and for the growth of vegetation, the moon killed the stars.

5. In the Santali and the Munda legend, it is stated that when the sun discovered the treachery that had been committed by the moon he (or she) attacked the latter and cut her in twain. This is the reason why the moon waxes and wanes every month. In the Malay myth it is stated that when the sun came to know of the Moon's act of treachery and murder, he became angry with her. For this reason, whenever the sun meets with the Moon, he fights with the latter in order to wreak vengeance upon her. This is the reason why the lunar eclipse takes place.

6. In the Santali and the Munda legends it is stated that the Moon hides her children (the stars) during the day-time, because she fears that if the sun who rises at daybreak, would catch a glimpse of her children, he would kill the latter. This is the reason why no stars appear and shine in the sky during the day-time.

The author is of opinion that the Santals, the Mundas and the aboriginies of the Malay Peninsula have not borrowed these Star-myths from each other. He explains their similarity by resort to the theory of the parallelism of culture development.

7. *The Cockroach's relatives. A Study in comparative Storiology* :—BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

In this paper, the author, has discussed from the storiologist's point of view a Bengali folktale and its Santali variant which illustrate the truth

of the English proverb that "It is a dirty bird that fouls its own nest" and which inculcate the lesson that no one should be little or express contempt for his own family, caste or tribe.

Although there is a strong similarity between the two stories, the author thinks that they have been evolved independently of each other, for the following reasons:—

(1) The leading characters of the Bengali version are the cockroaches; whereas those of the Santal variant are human beings who are no other than the members of the Musahar tribe.

(2) The minor characters of the two stories are also quite different.

(3) The style and language of the two versions are also quite different.

8. *On Two recent instances of self-mutilation for propitiating a goddess and a god:—* BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

A simple offering has been defined to be anything which is devoted to the service of a deity. It may be either an altar, a slave, a garment or a jewel. It may also include either blood from the body of a devotee or any of his limbs such as the head or the hand or the tips of the tongue after it has been lopped off from his body.

In these last cases, the offering takes the form of mutilation of his own body by the devotee. In this paper the author, has described and discussed two cases of self-mutilation which have recently occurred in Northern and Western India. In the first case, the devotee cut off the tip of

his tongue on the 10th August, 1925, and presented the cut off tip as an offering to the goddess Tapeswari at Cawnpur. In the second case, the devotee cut off his own head on the 24th August, 1925, and presented it as an offering to the God Siva in the village named Takarguda near Junagada in Kathiwarra.

9. *On a Bengali magical rite for the prevention of apprehended hydrophobia*:—BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

In this paper, the author describes the performance of a Bengali magical rite for the prevention of apprehended hydrophobia, which he witnessed on the 27th August, 1925, in Calcutta. In the course of this rite, the Bengali medicine-man or Ojha feeds the person bitten by the dog with a lump of charmed molasses. Then he fixes a charmed bell-metal platter (Thala) to the patient's back. If the virus of the dog-bite remains in the patient's body, the platter sticks to his back. Otherwise it falls off from his body. Then the patient is made to stand upon a spherical-bottomed earthenware saucer on the exterior of which, *mantras* in Bengali character are written with white chalk. Under the influence of the *mantras*, recited by Ojha, the saucer revolves automatically with the patient standing therein. When the virus leaves the patient's body, the earthenware saucer gets broken to bits. The author thinks that there may be a sub-stratum of truth in the Bengali medicine-man's statement that the earthen-

ware saucer revolves automatically under the influence of incantations recited by him.

10. *On two more Santali folktales of Der Mann and Fuchs' type* :—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

The author discusses in this paper two Santali variants of the folk-tales known as belonging to the 'Mann and Fuchs' type. 103 variants of this type, had been previously studied and discussed by the author. Thus the total number of these folk tales has been brought up to 105, all of which are current in different parts of the world.

There is a good deal of similarity between these 105 variants, which the author explains by Boas's theory of parallelism of Culture development.

11. *On two aetiological myths about the Paddy-Birds, long neck and legs* :—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

The Pond Heron (*Ardeola grayi* Sykes) is a very well-known bird of the Indian countryside. It is found most abundantly everywhere in India. It is known to the Europeans in India as the Paddy-bird. The most remarkable physical characteristics of the Paddy-bird are its long curved neck and stilt-like legs. These bodily peculiarities attracted the notice of the most thoughtful observers among the two primitive people—the Santals and the Mundas. Being unable to find out the true biological causes of the origin of these peculiarities they invented two aetiological myths to account for their origin.

In the Santali folk-tale, the Paddy-bird, at the request of the heroine, undertakes to impede the path of her pursuer. The latter having come to know of this, seized the bird and gave its neck a strong jirk, whereupon the bird's neck became long and shaped like the letter "S".

But in the Munda myth the Paddy-bird expressed its inability to furnish the hero with information about the heroine's whereabouts. This enraged the hero who, placing his feet upon the bird's legs, stretched out the bird's neck which thereupon became long and slim like that of a snake, and its legs became stilt-like.

In both cases, the punishment of the Paddy-bird by a person who got enraged with it, is the root cause of its peculiar bodily features, namely its long and slim neck and stilt-like legs.

12. *Note on a taboo forbidding the son-in-law to meet or touch his mother-in-law* :—BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

In this paper, the author mentions the prevalence, among the Hindus of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, of the curious taboo which prohibits the son-in-law to meet or touch the mother-in-law, and says that this ceremonial prohibition is also prevalent among the Pueblo-Indians of North America. The parallelism between the two taboos, prevailing amongst these widely separated peoples is a very remarkable one. He further says, that this taboo has been evolved amongst these two peoples independently of each other. He explains their similarity by Boas's theory of the parallelism of culture development.

13. *Levirate marriage in Ramayan* :—BY H. C. DAS-GUPTA.

Reference is made to a few lines in *Aranya-kandam* of Ramayana and the author is of opinion that these can be best explained on the assumption that the ancestors of Ram practised the levirate form of marriage in the remote past.

14. *A few types of sedentary games prevalent in the Punjab* :—BY HEM CH. DAS-GUPTA.

In this note the author describes a few types of sedentary games prevalent in the district of Mianwali in the Punjab. The games dealt with are—*do-guti*, *tre-guti*, *nao-guti*, *shera bakar*, *ratti-chitti-bakri* and *khutka boia*.

15. *Pulappeddi and Mannappedi in S. Travancore* :—BY A. S. RAMANTHA AYYAR.

This short paper deals with a peculiar social right which the Pulaiyas and Mannars, two of the polluting castes of S. Travancore, enjoyed in the month of Karkataka of throwing a stone at an unescorted woman of a higher caste and of polluting her thereby. Virakeralavarman, a Travancore king of the end of the 17th century A. D., issued an order to the villagers of Tiruvidangodu that these practices be stopped. This royal mandate dated in A. D. 1696 is found engraved on the four faces of a stone pillar, set up in the roadside in that village.

16. *The Hill-Pandarams of Travancore* :—BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

The Hill-Pandarams are a hill-tribe found in

the Koni and Achinrcoil forests of Central Travancore. They are one of the few tribes of South India in a state of savagery, subsisting by hunting and collecting forest produce. They represent one of the least modified survivals of the ancient Pre-Dravidian race. They live in rock-shelters or small-huts, and leave them in favour of others, when their food resources are exhausted.

Marriage takes place both before and after puberty. Child-betrothals are common. Marriage takes place between cross-cousins.

The dead are buried where they die. After burial, they do not visit the locality in after years. Sons succeed to the patria potestas on their father's death. They are fast disappearing, and it may not be very long before they become totally extinct.

17. *The future of Anthropology*:—BY S. SIVARAMKRISHNA IYER.

Anthropology is the science of the evolution of man. The highest stage in man's evolution is limitlessness in space and time. And this can be secured—though at some distant far-off date—only through the establishment of right functional connection, for which Caste is but another name,

18. *The Polias, Babupolias, Paliyas or Rajbansis. An instance of the "conversion of tribes into castes" in Bengal*:—BY D. N. MAJUMDAR.

Polias, Babupolias, Paliyas, or Rajbansis are the different appellations by which the tribal population of Dinajpur, Rungpur, Jalpaiguri and

Coochbehar are known. They are probably of the same stock. The word 'Polia' is according to the avowal of the people themselves, a variant of the Sanscrit 'पलातक' which means runaways. They call themselves Bhanga-Kshatriyas and wear the sacred thread in support of their claim. The Babupolias are lower in the estimation of the Polias for the former have not taken up the sacred thread and have not given up pig-eating. Of course, there are Babupolias who are being converted into Polias by virtue of their adopting the sacred thread and abstention from animal diet. The Polias call themselves Rajbansis or descendants of the Kshatriyas who were the ruling chiefs of India, often claiming descent from Dasaratha, king of Ajodhya. The physical features of the Polias add weight to the suggestion that they are a Mongoloid tribe in the process of forming a new caste. The author discusses the processes by which this transformation is being carried on and draws the attention of Indian Anthropologists to study the processes involved, in right earnest, and record the manners, customs and traditions of these people which are rapidly becoming obsolete.

19. *The Kinship terms of the Polias, Babupolias and Rajbansis of North Bengal*:—By D. N. MAJUMDAR.

The author gives in detail the Kinship terms of the Polias and compares them with those of the Sonthals, the Hindus and the Mohammedans who are their neighbours. Attempt has been made to explain the significance of the use of some

terms which owe their origin to cultural contact and borrowing.

20. *A few types of dramatic and sedentary games of the Hos of Kolhan in Singbhum*:—By D. N. MAJUMDAR.

As many as 16 games of the Hos have been described in detail (1) Chhur, (2) Sekar, (3) Kanju, (4) Kasa, (5) hotadanda, (6) tukaodanda, (7) gacha, (8) kulaochal, (9) landapati, (10) malinum in water, (11) malinum on land, (12) kuidinum, (13) tir, (15) gaigaiinum, (15) бага, (16) cock fight. Some of these games, if not all, are also played by the Mundas, the Sonthals, the Birhors, the Tamarias, the Kharia mundas and other sections of the Kolhan race. The most interesting sedentary game is the 'kulaochal' which is played in every part of India. The diagram used by the Hos is a simple one. The units or 'gutis' as they are called are 24 in number of which 4 are 'kulaos' or tigers and 20 called 'marams' or goats. One party takes the tigers, the other party the 'marams' and the duty of the latter is to defend the 'marams' against the depredations of the tigers.

21. *Marriage customs of the Hos of Kolhan*:—By D. N. MAJUMDAR.

In this paper the author describes in detail the various forms of marriage in vogue amongst the Hos of Singbhum, (1) andi, (2) dikkuandi, (3) apartipi-andi, (4) anader, (5) heromchetan andi, (6) Sangaandi, (7) marrying the younger sister of the wife after the latters' death, etc. The omens

which determine the marriage, are given; marriage laws, divorces, etc., are discussed in detail.

22. *Ho beliefs about disease, death and after :—*
BY D. N. MAJUMDAR.

In this paper, the author describes in detail the beliefs of the Hos regarding disease, death and after. The influence of spirits of 'bongas' on the lives of the Hos is believed to be so great that the Hos attribute all disease and death to the mischief done by 'bongas'. Natural deaths in a hunting tribe are very rare, deaths being mostly due to accidents. Although the Hos have mostly settled down as agriculturists, the outdoor life led by them naturally involves many accidents and deaths from natural decay are seldom met with. Again, having no idea of the maximum period a man may live on earth, even natural decay is attributed by them to causes external to the body and influenced by the pleasure or displeasure of the 'bongas' who are on the lookout for men's defects. After a brief analysis of the beliefs of the people the author proceeds to give an ethnographic description of all the customs and practices attended to during disease, death and funeral.

23. *Ethnographic notes on the ideas about eclipses, excommunication, adoption, rainmaking, hoarfrosts, and hailstones, dreams, earthquakes, etc. of the Hos :—*BY D. N. MAJUMDAR.

The author briefly describes the beliefs of the people about eclipses, excommunication, adoption, rainmaking, hoarfrosts, and hailstorms, dreams,

earthquakes, etc., and compares them with similar beliefs found among the other sections of the Munda race.

24. *Ho Life in Ho riddles*:—BY D. N. MAJUMDAR,

M. A.

Some of the riddles of the Hos are given and discussed as reflecting light on the mentality of the people composing them. Many of the riddles are found to be in vogue amongst the Mundas and the Sonthals which testify to the unity of the Mūṇḍā race.

25. *The Comparative Anthropometry of Indian Castes and Tribes*:—BY B. S. GUHA, D. SC.

The chief anatomical characters of the important castes and tribes of India and Burma, have been biometrically considered by means of a formula suggested by Karl Pearson and known as the Co-efficient of Racial Likeness. The analysis shows first of all the existence of considerable difference between individuals belonging to the so-called upper and lower castes, but, considered regionally marked similarity is observed within definite tones irrespective of all caste considerations. Secondly three main ethnic groups are found who appear to have moved from their main centres of concentration viz., two from the Northwest along the Gangetic valley and Western borderland and one from the North-Eastern frontier region along the Brahmaputra River, while a fourth—an autochthonous element—is present throughout the country in varying proportion.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Folk-Lore* for June 1925, Dr. J. H. Hutton, contributes an article on *Some Astronomical Beliefs in Assam*. In this article Dr. Hutton briefly reviews some of the views held by different Assam tribes upon a few astronomical phenomena (the Orion and that Pleiades, the Milky Way, Venus, the Sun and the Moon, the Rainbow) and upon earthquakes with a view to finding how far they are traceable to some common origin or whether these beliefs "are evoked independently by the tribes that hold them in order to supply some explanation of familiar but mysterious experience". Some instances of same beliefs in other areas,—Bengal, Chota Nagpur, Santal Parganas, Ceylon, Burma, Japan, China, Manchuria, Italy, England, Malay, Fiji, Melanesia, Polynesia, &c,—outside Assam are also referred to.

From this heterogenous information it is obvious that "those ideas which show the most cohesion and the clearest trace of a wide distribution are ideas about the sun, the moon, and the rainbow, which are more or less constant phenomena, whereas the constellations are invisible for half the year and consequently, except in certain localities, are not phenomena of ordinary and frequent experience". Considering the isolation of the Assam tribes until quite recent years, Dr. Hutton is inclined to ascribe the former group of ideas to some pre-migratory origin, and the latter ideas

with regard to less perceptible or less obvious phenomena to independent development among different groups at a later date. Dr. Hutton is inclined to look to China for the distributing centre of most of the ideas as to the Sun and the Moon.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for July 1925, Mr. K. Ramvarma Raja contributes an article on *The Beetle Myths and Folktales*, and Mr. S. T. Moses writes on *Insect Pests and some South Indian Beliefs*, and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao gives English translations of some *Indian Nursery Rhymes* from Southern India.

In the October (1925) number of the same journal Prof. Kalipada Mitra contributes part of a paper on *The Bird and Serpent Myth*, and Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra contributes an article *On an Aitiological Myth about the Brahminy Duck*. In the *Notes* portion of the same number is reproduced an article on *The Holi festival* from the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXIV, (1827).

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1925, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti contributes a short article on *Tradition about Vānaras and Raks'asas* as given in the Jain *Padmapurāṇa* which together with the existence in the Tamil-speaking country of a people called the Makkals (=Makkāḍa? =Markāṭa?) is said to indicate that the so-called Vānaras were really human beings.

In the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* for October, 1925, Dr. Sten Konow contributes an illuminating article on *The Indo-Aryan Gods of the Vedic Period*.

In this article Dr. Konow points out that the idea of *dharma*, duty and obligation, had always been uppermost in the religious mentality of the Indo-Aryans, and that this was the necessary consequence of their original conception of the universe as permeated and regulated by ideas and primeval forces, which could only act in conformity with their own nature, and in accordance with the eternal laws inherent in them. This notion became modified, under the influence of the state of things when royal power became paramount and could dictate its own laws, and came to be still further modified when conditions became unsettled in times of war and trouble and the powerful Chief would succeed in changing the regular course of events. The religious mentality of Rig-Vedic times is summed up as follows :—
 “The ancient Indo-European framework was still there, with its belief in self-existing forces and powers, which were usually viewed in personal and half-personal shape. But from this background great gods had risen or were rising, the heavenly counterparts of the powerful rulers on earth, with power to assert themselves against overwhelming odds and even to satisfy their wishes and realise their will in spite of all obstacles, against every universal law”.

In the same number of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya contributes an article on *The Doctrine of Karma*.

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series) Vol. XX, 1924, No. 5, issued July 31st 1925, Mr. D. N. Majumdar

contributes a paper on some of the characteristics of Kolarian Songs'. He groups all Ho Songs under four heads:—(1) General Songs, depicting general ideas, the economic conditions of the people the principles of living etc., (2) Love Songs. (3) Moral Songs, through which the Ho singer wishes to impart moral instruction to the people. Moral songs, again, he subdivides into two groups (a) those addressed to youngmen, (b) those addressed to young women; (4) Miscellaneous Songs, which mostly relate to domestic affairs, articles of food etc. Some Ho original songs with their English renderings in illustration of his scheme of classification are given.

In the same number of the journal, Mr. D. N. Majumder contributes another article "on the Terminology of Relationship of the Hos of Kolhan". After reviewing the systems of kinship nomenclature in existence and the different hypotheses which have upto now been advanced, he accepts the theory of Dr. Rivers that the terminology of relationship is dependent upon social functions. But says he, undue stress should not be laid on the importance of social functions in determining the terminology of relationship as there are, other factors which must be considered. When the same term is used to denote a number of relatives, male and female, it cannot be explained by reference to any particular social function, the main explanation being a low cultural stage.

In the same number of the journal Mr. D. N. Majumdar also contributes a note on the tradi-

tional origin of the Hos together with a brief description of the chief Bongās (or gods) of the Hos. He gives an alternative version of the tradition of the Hos regarding the creation of the world and the origin of the human race, recorded by Colonel Tickell in Vol. IX of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 797.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Character of Races, as Influenced by Physical Environment, Natural Selection and Historical Development.— *By Ellsworth Huntington.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924) PP 393. Price—\$ 5.00.

In this well-written book, the author seeks to show "how the principles of climatic change and natural selection probably apply to the earliest human development, as well as to outstanding examples from later periods". Persistent emphasis has been laid on natural selection through physical causes, whereas other factors are made subordinate, and just enough space has been devoted to them to show that their influence in modifying human character is not overlooked by the author. Much space is devoted to a speculative account of man's early evolution and migrations. An idea of the contents of the book may be gathered from the following headings of the 23 chapters into which the book is divided:—

Racial Character and Natural Selection; First Steps in Human Character; The Earliest Great Migration; Glaciation and the Supremacy of Europe; The Suppression of America; The Classification of Races; The Anomalies of Aboriginal America; The Asiatics who dwell in tents; Jews, Armenians, and Turks; Cycles of Chinese History; North *versus* South in China; The Scourge of Famine; The Selection of the Chinese; The three Great Races of Europe; The Character of Modern Europe; The Contrast between Greeks and Irish; The Dispersal of the Northmen; Warlike Normans and Peaceful Icelanders; The Persistence of a Selected Inheritance; The Direct Effect of Environment on Character; The Selection of Modern Americans; The Racial

Tendencies of Civilization ; The Racial Test of Cities ; Democracy, and Feminism.

The author's exposition of his views is always illuminating, although the reader may not always see eye to eye with him on certain points of his discussions. On the whole, it is a book which will find a welcome niche in the anthropologist's library.

Savage Life in Central Australia.—*By G. Horne, V. D., M. A., M. D., Ch. B., and G. Aiston. (Macmillan & Co., 1924) PP. XII+178. Price 18 s. net.*

We welcome this interesting book on the country, the daily life, habits, customs and beliefs of the Wonkonguru and their neighbours of the Mungerie District to the east of Lake Eyre. So far as it goes, the information contained in the volume before us forms a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Australian native. We have had illuminating and most interesting accounts of the elaborate social organization and socio-religious ceremonial of the Australian Blacks from Howitt and Spencer and Gillen, but no detailed information about the daily life of the people. The book before us supplies this desideratum to some extent. Much of the information contained in this volume has been collected first-hand from the natives, one of the joint authors having spent over 20 years amongst the people. The fact that Sir Baldwin Spencer, as the author informs us in

the Preface, several times read through and corrected the manuscript is sufficient guarantee of the value of the book.

Big Game and Pygmies—*By Outhbert Christy, M. B., C. M., (Edin.) (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.) PP. XI+325. Price 21 S. net.*

The author of this work is a well-known naturalist, and the book records his experiences in the Central African forests in quest of the okapi 'which is the forest ancestor of the giraffe'. The bulk of the book is devoted to the record the author's experiences of the buffalo, the rhinoceros, the elephant and other big game and their natural history. The smaller mammals, and also birds, insects, fishes, frogs and reptiles have their legitimate share of attention from our author. But the anthropologist cannot help regretting that the human denizens of the Central African forests have not had their proper share of attention from the accomplished author who, moreover, had exceptional opportunities of collecting a mass of information about them. Only two out of thirty chapters (chapters IV and V, covering no more than 17 pages) in the book are devoted to the Ituri Pygmies and here and there in the rest of the book there are occasional references to them and their neighbours, but these do not add much to our knowledge. Their only idea of adornment, we are told, is to daub their faces with red, blue or black paint and to wear small

sticks or pieces of straw passed through a hole made in the septum or sides of the nose, sometimes even of the lips. But the most interesting fact noted by the author is that the Bambute Pygmies as well as some of the forest tribes on the outskirts of the Ituri, who live largely by hunting, are in the habit of making themselves conspicuous in the forest by breaking up the outlines of the figure by means of strips and dabs of colour on the body and face.

"One little old man had several inch-wide stripes of white diagonally across his face, body and limbs. Others were marked with red much in the same way, while some had a broad white or dull red stripe down the outside of each arm and leg, and across the face, with nothing on the body. The intent was obviously concealment. Breaking up the outlines of the figure makes it less conspicuous in the lights and shades of the under-wood. These tribes organise net drives for duikers and any other animals they can catch. Most of the men stand behind the net, while those protectively marked take up a position in the forest in front and facing it. When the sun is shining and the shadows are deep, the latter only have to stand still to be unnoticed. Any animal passing them, disturbed by the dogs and running into the net, is pounced upon by men standing behind, or, if breaking back, is speared by the camouflaged reserves. They are not 'invisible' men, but have learnt by experience, or perhaps prompted by a hint from the Bongo, something of the art of camouflage. They had learnt it, moreover, long before their big white brothers in far-off Europe thought of dabbling in the subject as a war precaution".

Dr. Christy found that the Pygmies were past masters in the art of speaking by gesture, and with a very few words he and his pygmy hosts were able to understand each other. And he now regrets, "During the time I was in the forest

with the Pygmies I was so occupied in studying the secrets of forest-craft, and in my pursuit of the okapi, that I neglected, now much to my regret, the habits of my little hosts." His readers, particularly those interested in man, will undoubtedly share his regret. Yet the book, as Sir Harry Johnston observes in the Introductory Chapter, should be of great interest to students of Africa in many directions. The book is profusely illustrated with very good photographs.

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1. THE BIRHORS : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii + 608 with 36 plates. (Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925.) Price Rs. 10/- ; 15 s.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities as mark your former monographs on the Mundas and Oraons. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indian Ethnology.....

MAN IN INDIA.

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I. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

By

COL. T. C. HODSON, F. R. A. I., I. C. S. (*Retd.*)

Culture in Tylor's definition is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". It is, therefore, related to the psychological and the biological facts of human life as well as to the conditions imposed by societal existence, itself a result of biological facts.

But a new order emerges—a super-biological order—in which the dominant difference between man and other social animals plays a decisive part. The emergence of mind in an animal enjoying social life created a new set of social and biological problems, a new range of possible relations with the material world or environment. It is with these problems that Cultural Anthropology is concerned.

First, be it noted that a core of ideas and beliefs actuating a group and in a large measure controlling their career forms the unifying element in the culture complex of that group. From

institutions, from even such homely things as the shape of the house or the decoration of an implement we have to deduce the ideas and beliefs which find their expression in these shapes.

In the next place, culture is associated with groups although expressed by individuals and displayed by the behaviour of individuals. Thus, there exists a relation between the facts of membership whether voluntary or enforced or natural and the culture of a group just as there exists a relation between the expressions of culture and the individuality of the individuals whose activities constitute the culture in its objective aspect.

Two features emerge from this. A group, as compared with the individuals who compose it, is a permanent thing. The culture of a group is, therefore, characterised by continuity but displays variations because the individuality of its members can find expression only by differing from or varying from their fellows. The factor of continuity secures control and sets the limits within which variability is allowable but the factor of individuality ensures variability and selection and is, therefore, the main element in that series of changes and modifications of culture which make and are called progress.

The simplest variation of culture is by way of addition of some fresh activity, some novel use of knowledge and power. Just because a group possesses continuity and stores up knowledge the process of addition is not only the simplest but

the most common variation. Each addition makes a new culture and some inventions or additions to culture are keys which open doors through which man passes to further additions. Each addition transforms in some measure the pre-existing culture and modifies the experience of the group. It is itself modified or transformed in the process. Because a group is an organised body, possessing continuity, it resists changes which are or appear to be inconsistent with the essential elements of its prior experience. That is why we find a selective process at work, absorbing and utilising some and rejecting other elements of novelty, and what is termed cultural lag is to be explained generally by the brake action of pre-existing group experience.

A culture, being the aggregate deeds and thoughts of the group, contains a number of elements which form up and are joined together as part of the life of the group and among themselves form links or associated features, so that the range of variability is increased greatly.

Because a group is continuous, these culture elements form a pattern which may be comprehended under such heads as Speech, Material traits, Art, Mythology, Religion, Social Systems, Property, Government and War. Not only are the historic cultures from the most primitive to our own built upon one general pattern but in some instances the materials are identical. There are experiences, facts of a biological order which are universal, and the body of man is built on a

universal pattern. It is, therefore, wise to recognise the fundamental similarities between cultures as well as the objective differences.

Addition has been described as the commonest variation in cultural history. Variation may come as a result of subjective internal activity within the group when the process is called invention. It is quite conceivable that individuals in two or more separate groups may, if confronted by the same problem, achieve the same solution and this is all the more likely when in the general state of knowledge of the group-cultures under study there is very little difference in range and when there are only a limited number of possible solutions to the problem.

That independent invention has ever occurred is strictly contested. Archaeological investigations, however, show that the psychical forces which brought magical designs into being "are so generally at work and so inherent in all human nature that their occurrence is possible, and even probable in many places independently". (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*. H. Frankfort, R. A. I. Occasional Papers, no. 6, p. 16). These psychical forces belong to the core of ideas and beliefs in culture-complexes. Examined from another point of view, some inventions appear inevitable and it has been found possible "to demonstrate a great prevalence of these multiple inventions independently made".

Since cultures evolve from simple beginnings as to which the evidence of archaeology is conclusive,

so is it found that in course of time two or more quite different traits or phases in widely separated cultures may come to be similar. Convergence or primary, even secondary, parallelism is well established.

Again, one culture may borrow from or imitate elements of the culture of its neighbours. In the majority of cases, look where we will, diffusion, which is another way of describing imitation or borrowing, is the order of the day. Since we have to deal with the outward or objective expressions of a core of ideas and beliefs, and since contacts are made between individuals, the part which individuals play in this process of diffusion and imitation has to be studied from the psychological side.

Another fact to be remembered, on which the late W. H. R. Rivers laid great stress, is that "transplanted elements of culture tend to take root in a new home in so far as they are in harmony with the physical and cultural nature of their new environment and if they succeed in taking root, tend to become modified in the direction of the indigenous culture by which they are assimilated. Whenever an element of culture, whether it be a word, a grammatical form, a religious practice, a social custom or a material object, passes from one part of the world to another, it tends to become changed in the process, it does not remain in its new home what it was in its old". (*Medicine, Magic and Religion*, p. 92 & 96). This inevitable change makes

identification always difficult—even impossible in many cases. The real test is the functional value. Students of cultural anthropology have to distinguish between natural and organized diffusion, to examine the effects of natural barriers, to work out the rates and modes of diffusion, to have regard to the time factor and to note intermittent and partial distribution of culture elements as well as the presence of world-wide and universal elements. With these data the student can attack the taxonomy of culture, he can classify cultures according to the nature of their variables while remembering their universals.

Cultural anthropology examines the range of questions involved in the relations of culture and environment. Quite clearly the environment furnishes the materials from which inventions are made but as the essential thing in invention is the new relation between experiences we find the determining factor in mental and individual activity. In general it seems that the part played by the environment in the development of culture consists in deciding as to what may not become a part of human experience. Among the experiences it makes possible there is an infinite range—almost illimitable—of potential relationships which, given the hour and the man, may emerge into activity.

The part of the environment that really counts for most is the ethnic environment, the culture setting, and just as there is physical isolation so is there ethnic isolation, social isolation. Were this

absolute and permanent, only such variations as internal causes could produce would appear, and but little of novelty would be added to experience. The history of archaeology discloses sites which have been continuously occupied by many cultures in succession, often because the sites possessed special values in reference to social needs. The isolation, which at first was mainly dominated by physical facts, is used to explain the differentiation of mankind into the different races. This leads at once to the problems of the relation between culture and race. Have the different racial strains equal efficiency in culture? It is just here that prejudice makes it difficult for science to delimitate the problem. In general we can reach the position that variability is an observed characteristic of innate qualities, both in regard to individuals and groups. The hereditary factor and tribal grouping seem to preclude the random distributions of mental characters which are expressed in invention. We find that there is no such thing as racial equality in culture because culture is due to the functioning of the innate differences. If the culture of the Andamanese be taken as representative of an uncontaminated, or almost pure group, then it might serve as a criterion of values and it is characterised by internal variations and modifications, due to the repercussion of individuality against the continuity of institutions.

If this be accepted, what are the racial traits that accelerate or retard culture? There is some evidence for believing in the existence of racial

differences, in variations in the efficiency of the nervous machinery by which some can use better modes of thought more effectively than others.

Cultural anthropology, as this brief summary discloses, attacks the whole history of man, defines, reveals, discusses and hopes to decide a great and ever-increasing range of problems whose complexity and importance are increased by the narrowing of the world, the disappearance of isolation and the destruction of physical as well as of social and political barriers. It emphasises very definitely the importance of individuality in the history of invention and discovery. It refuses to accept psycho-analysis as more than an instrument for disclosing the secrets of the perennial, inevitable, natural and necessary conflict between individuality and sociality, between the rigid repression which social continuity enforces and the tendency to variation, inherent in individuality. It recognises that the processes of natural growth are synthetic, are engaged in framing equilibria, are organically constructed so that the part is unknowable, unidentifiable, unrecognisable except through the whole, which is more, much more, than the mere sum of its parts. Practical knowledge, technical skill, magical urge, religious stimulus, co-operate and combine in the economic and social and psychological elements throughout. In sum and in short, Cultural Anthropology seeks above all "to see life steadily and see it whole".

II. FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF INDIA.

By G. S. GHURYE, M. A., PH. D. (Cantab.)

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(*Continued from the March number.*)

(3) *Underground cists* : The word cist has been rather freely used in the writings on which this part of the paper is based. Hence there have been many doubtful cases in which it has been very difficult to decide with certainty whether a particular structure described is a dolmen or an underground cist. Further in the case of dolmens not wholly standing free I have not always been able to get specific statements whether it was covered by a very low mound or whether the side stones were completely let in the ground. These difficulties make this list a little defective. As for these structures some part of which has been described as being above the surface of the soil, I have thought it desirable to regard them as dolmens proper and not underground cists.

In Coimbatore there are underground stone cists the visible mark of which above ground is only a stone-circle. The cist is oblong in shape and sometimes divided into two compartments by a transverse slab in the centre. One of the end-slabs has always got a hole about 6" or 9" in diameter, in the centre. In them are found sepulchral urns in quantities. They contain earth and calcined human bones. They are of a peculiar

shape differing widely from those of Tinnevely. They have got small necks and taper to the bottom. The part with the greatest circumference is ornamented with double wavy lines.

On the Nilgiris, the tops of the cists are just level with the natural surface of the soil. Only one of them was surrounded by a stone circle 18 ft. in diameter. The cist measured 3' 6" from east to west and 2' 6" north to south. In the centre of the eastern slab was the usual hole from 12" to 15" in diameter. The floor was formed by one slab. The fragments of pottery "thick and highly glazed" were quite different from those of the cairns.

In Salem district, the cairns are circular in shape and often surrounded by stone circles. They are from 1' to 4' in height and 3' to 20' in diameter. The stone circles very often have four stones towering above the others at the four points of the compass. The cist underneath, wherever it exists,—for all do not contain it,—has the entrance on the east. When the tumulus is dug up one comes across in the centre a slab measuring 2' long by 2' broad to 9' long and 6' broad. This is the cover of the cist. The cists vary in size from 3' long, 2' wide, and 2' deep to 5' long, 3½' wide, and 4' deep. At the bottom there is another slab. They contain small urns, iron implements and charred bones.

Mysore: In the Hassan district of Mysore stone circles are met with in groups, the number in each group varying from several hundreds to

but five or six. The diameter of the circle is 12' to 18'. On digging below the surface soil one comes upon the covering slab of a kistavaen. The cist has always "an opening at one end, large enough to admit of an ordinary sized man of the present day passing through". It is full of earth with pottery imbedded in it. Pieces of bones, iron implements and charcoal are found. In only one a stone arrow-head or rather a small spear-head was found.

In Coorg, the cists are level with the ground or their tops crop just a little out of it. The cist is a regular dolmen with the hole facing the east. The hole is broken out roughly from the top of the end slab. It is nearly 2' in diameter. The dimensions of the cist are: 7' long, 4' wide and 4' high. The capstone projects over the sides. The cists were full of earth imbedded in which lay the usual pottery. Bones, iron, spear-heads and beads also were found. Some vessels of pyriform shape had three or four short legs; small ones had neither handles nor legs. The beads were of red cornelian, cylindrical in shape. They were longitudinally pierced and ornamented with straight or zigzag parallel lines scratched into the stone and filled with a white substance.

At Gajjalakonda in Kurnool district have been recently discovered cairns with underground cists. The cairn is dome-shaped, about 3' in height and from 6' to 26' in diameter. On digging down 1' or 2' one comes across the cover of the cist. The cist is a rectangular chamber lined with slabs.

It measures 10' long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ' wide and 7' deep. It has a small entrance passage on the south end. "Most of the stone-slabs had been cut and dressed with metal tools". Inside were six to ten stone coffins arranged on the floor. Each of these inner cists contained the remains of uncalcined human bones and domestic pottery. In other cairns instead of these inner cists there were earthenware sarcophagi, each one standing on the floor of an underground cist like the one in the other type of cairns. The sarcophagus measured 3' 2" long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ " high and $10\frac{1}{2}$ " wide at the top, "tapering slightly towards each end".

At Jewurgi, 50 miles north-east of Ragunkelloor, there were counted 268 cairns and more. They are surrounded by stone-circles, single or double. On the S. W. side, two slabs were placed upright near two of the circle stones. They were 2' apart. Some of the cairns had three-sided dolmens at the top. At the depth of 5', two boulders stood as a door. At 5' lower down was the cist formed of limestone slabs. Outside the cist were urns and iron implements. The skeletons in the cist lay N. E. and S. W. There was also an oblong bead of red cornelian. In another cairn there were human remains in all confusion. In the cist was a skeleton on its left side with the head turned round. There were also other headless skeletons. The greyish earth referred to elsewhere was also found in these cairns. In another cairn the cist was divided lengthwise into two compartments. The side slabs were $6\frac{1}{2}$ ' long. The eastern

compartment was wider than the western. But both the ends of each compartment were equal in breadth; hence neither the individual compartment nor the whole cist had even the remotest resemblance to the wedge shape. In the western compartment were found small urns and iron implements. The eastern compartment contained two skeletons laid, one on the other, both with face downwards. A skull was placed between the skeletons with face to the south. Many skeletons and separate skulls were found in the earth above the cist. In another cairn the cist showed the same arrangement; only its length was 4' 10". The western compartment contained a woman's skeleton while the eastern had two—both shorter than the cist—the upper with face downwards and the lower on its left side. The necropolis at Andola, 5 miles S. E. of Jewurgi, possessed 40 cairns. The cists and their contents were exactly like those of Jewurgi. Some of the pottery found in these cairns had tapering bottoms. The largest of the urns measured 3' 9" high and 2' 3" in diameter. It tapered at the bottom resembling the pottey from the cists in Coimbatore described above. At Dewarconda in the province of Golconda a large field of cairns was discovered. The cairns that were opened contained cists divided lengthwise into two compartments by a slab 2' high. The cists contained skeletons lying nearly north and south on their faces.

The cairns near Secunderabad had cists with their longer axis pointing north and south. The

cist measured 6' long, 6' 6" deep and 3' broad. The pottery and bones in them were irregularly disposed. Three cairns were opened at Narakailpalli, east of Hyderabad. The side slabs of the cist measured 5' 10" by 5' 4" and the end slabs 2' 4" by 5' 4". Pots were arranged at bottom on two sides. There was one skeleton with face downwards and head to the north. The longer axis of the cist pointed N. and S. Some of the cairns had circles of stones. The cairns at Haitipamla are exactly like these except in the dimensions of the cists which are divided longitudinally into two compartments. At Manta' Ali in the Hyderabad state cairns have been recently discovered. They are from 8' to 23' in diameter and 2' to 4' in height above ground. They are surrounded by a circle of stones roughly hewn. At the depth of 4' to 5' from the surface of the soil they contain cists formed of six slabs. The dimensions of the interior of the cist are: length $3\frac{1}{2}'$ to $6\frac{1}{2}'$; breadth 2' to 4' and depth 4' to $6\frac{1}{2}'$. The side-slabs measure 6' to 10' in length and 5' to $7\frac{1}{2}'$ in height. They protrude on either side of the head and foot slabs which are fitted in between them. The cists are oriented N. and S. Pottery and iron implements found in these are similar to those discovered on such sites in Southern India. In one of the cairns was found a metal cup (79% copper and 21% tin). Another yielded a bronze bell. The dead were buried in the extended position.

Near Karunpudi in the Krishna district a large field of megalithic monuments was discovered.

The cist is entirely underground, only the covering slab being just visible. It is a square or oblong chamber. In one of the sides there is a sort of entrance left. A large cist is generally divided into two or four compartments. In such a cist sometimes there is a hole in one of the sides communicating with the adjacent chamber containing pottery, etc. Each of the compartments has a quantity of burnt human bones and pottery of all sizes.

South Mirzapur: Neolithic tombs are found in South Mirzapur, but their exact nature is not known. Perhaps they are of the same type as those near the town of Mirzapur opened by Rivett Carnac and Cockburn. In the latter case "the grave fully excavated was six or eight feet deep enclosed in a stone circle about 12' in diameter". It is difficult to judge from the scanty accounts available of these excavations whether these tombs were cists or not. The following quotation from Cockburn's paper suggests that they were cists. Speaking about the finds in the Kon ravines of South Mirzapur he observes: "I found tolerably perfect human calvaria together with glazed earthenware cups, stone hammers, and flakes and spalls, etc., precisely similar to others I have found in such interments, when exposed by denudation". He saw such tombs which appear to have been "built up cairn graves" at Mirzopur and Mozuffarpore. At the former place he was present at the excavation of two of them. One contained the fossilized skeleton of an adult

man. It lay on a thick slab N. and S. At each corner of the tomb was a flat dish of glazed pottery. "One of the articles found was a long, narrow lachrymal vase of green glass about 7 inches long". I think these underground cists must be regarded as only developments of the dolmens above ground. We can see that in all essential points of construction these cists wholly agree with the dolmens. Thus in most cases they have either a regular passage, a door or a hole. They are constructed of entire slabs; most of them are floored with slabs. Further we have already noted cases of dolmens which had some of their part let in the ground. From this to the type of cists which has its top just level with the ground is but an easy transition. Again some of the cists as we have seen are only a foot or two below the ground while others go to a depth of 10 ft. Thus the process of sinking is seen in all its transitions. Hence it is quite evident that we must regard the cists as developments from the dolmens.

(4) *Degraded dolmens*: Under this category fall all those structures which are called table stones, a huge slab being supported at the four corners, yet not enclosing a chamber. They are rather scarce in India. Some such are reported from Pulicondah in the Carnatic. Near Bangalore megalithic monuments of the following type are met with. On a sheet of bare rock, supported on 3 or 4 piles of stone at a height of 2' to 4' from the rock, stands a huge slab of stone 13' long

and $8\frac{1}{2}'$ wide. Such examples are also reported from Belgaum. At Janampet in the Hyderabad State the stone-circles have in the centre a heavy boulder mounted on three or four stones in the form of a table. Under this, generally underground, is found a "monolithic coffin resembling a trough", the only known specimens of its kind in India. The Mundas after placing the calcined bones of their dead in a grave lay over it a large stone slightly raised on small stones placed at the four corners. At this time all the stones in the 'Sasan' or burial ground are anointed with oil, and vermilion marks are made on them. The Khasis place in front of a line of menhirs a large flat table-stone supported at the four corners by stones so that the extreme height of the table from the ground is $2'$ to $2\frac{1}{2}'$. The largest table stone measures $28\frac{1}{2}' \times 13\frac{3}{4}' \times 1\frac{2}{3}'$. Their tables face any point of the compass.

(5) *Three-sides dolmens*: Dolmens which are perfect on three sides and open on the fourth have been recorded from Malabar. The Izhuvass of Travancore erect to the south of their principal house a building set apart for the perpetuation of the memory of their well-known dead. It is enclosed on all three sides except the east. There are in it a seat, a couch, a cane and a small bag containing ashes. On fixed days worship is offered to the ancestors. In the Madura district there are three-sided box-shaped constructions erected on rocky surface. A group is generally surrounded

by a rectangular—more rarely circular—wall made of similar slabs set upright in the ground. An average specimen of the dolmen measures 8' by 3', the capstone being 11' by 6'. They are sometimes arranged in double parallel rows. The space between the several dolmens in each group and between them and the surrounding wall is filled with earth and small stones. Nothing more than the usual type of pottery and a rust-eaten iron-sickle was found in these structures. The Kurubas of Southern India raise temples in honour of the chiefs of their subdivisions. The structure is a three-sided dolmen. The slab opposite the open side has a rude sculptured figure of the chief. This principal building is surrounded by smaller ones the whole being enclosed by a wall of stones. During annual festivals, as well as periodically, worship is offered not only to the spirit of the deceased chief in whose honour the principal monument is erected but also to the spirits of all the dead of the subdivision. The bigger structures have got a small inner shrine where during festivals idols are placed. This process illustrates far better than anything else the development of a typical Hindu temple of Southern India where inside the square building there is the "garbha-griha" or the inner cell. After every death both the Kurumbas as well as the Irulas place a long water-worn pebble in one of the old dolmens. Occasionally they make small dolmens and place the pebble therein. Some of the Kurumbas who burn their dead place a bone and a small round stone in one of the open dolme. On the Nilgiris

such sculptured dolmens abound. At one place five stand in a row. The three central ones are bigger than the two end ones. The south sides are open. The central dolmens are covered by three huge slabs. the edge of one overlapping that of another. The small ones are three-sided structures complete by themselves. At another locality four such compartments stand in a row connected together. Other examples are open on the east while others vary from N. E. to S. S. E. The sculptures in general resemble those of the "virakals" or hero-stones of Coorg, Mysore and Bellary. The stone is divided into a series of panels. In the top-panel appears in bas-relief the sacred bull of Siva kneeling before the *linga*-symbol. In the lowest panels are depicted what appear to be battle scenes. In the middle compartment stand women nude above the waist, wearing large ear ornaments in the distended ear lobes, their hair tied in a chignon on the right side of their heads. This is perhaps intended to convey the idea of the passage of a hero killed in battle from this world to the world of bliss.

Three-sided dolmens.—In Coorg on the summit of a hill were discovered four structures exactly resembling those at Vellore in N. Arcot described below. These structures also occur in the Hassan district of Mysore in large numbers. The opening faces indifferently any point of the compass. They are treated as temples and places of worship, the priest being of the Holeya, one of the depressed classes, caste. It is generally the shrine of

Mariamman the village goddess. In the Cuddapah district there seem to be two varieties of this type of monuments. One of them is of unfashioned stones while the other bears evident traces of rough workmanship. The arched stones which we saw accompanied the dolmens of Central Mysore were also present with some of these. The structures have not yet been explored. At Kalyandrug in the Anantpur district many of these monuments have been recently discovered. In them the north side is open. The interior measures 6' 7" in length, 4' 4" in width and 5' 8" in height. The structure stands on bare rock but the floor is formed by an additional slab. At a later period these seem to have been turned into hero-shrines by the addition of sculptures depicting battle scenes in bas-relief. These hero shrines face the east. Further, some of them have been converted into Siva temples by the introduction of the *linga*-symbol. From Bellary nearly 600 structures of this type have been recorded. The three-sided dolmens of Rajunkelloor are open on the south side. The dimensions of a typical structure are: side-slabs 15' 3" long, 9' 4" high of which 3' are in the ground. End-slab: 6' broad, 9' high with the portion in the ground; capstone 13' 9" long, 13' broad. The interior measures 6' by 9'. It seems the capstone projects both in front and at the back. In Chingleput the sides of the open dolmens are formed not by slabs but by several large stones laid together. They were enclosed by stone circles and had a sort of cairn over them.

They bear no sculptures. Near Vellore in North Arcot there exist structures of this type. A capstone measuring 12' long, 8' wide and $2\frac{1}{2}'$ thick is supported not by slabs but by six large round boulder-like masses of granite, two at the north end, two at the south, two smaller—not touching the capstone on the west side. The east side is open. The capstone is 8' above ground and bears on the top four round depressions which look like cup-marks. The whole structure, standing on a bare granite platform, looks like an altar. "The Gond tribes of the Godavery and Orissa make miniature cromlechs (dolmens), like three-legged stools which they place over the bones and ashes of the deceased. Empty structures of this category have been referred to as existing in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. They abound in the lower Wainganga valley where formerly the Kurumwaras roved. These people even now have such shrines open always on the east. There is only one reference to any megalithic remains in Gujrat. A structure from Dharapura in the Palanpur State has been described as megalithic. Strictly speaking, it is only a vestige of what might have been a three-sided dolmen. It further illustrates the process of the formation of temples out of the three-sided dolmens. The monument consists of an inner chamber and an outer porch or *mandapa*. Inside the inner chamber is an upright stone. The porch consists of three rude slabs. This is the megalithic portion of the structure, though the covering stone of the inner

chamber also is one huge slab. The supporting pillars of the porch are 4 ft. high while the capstone is 10' long and 6' broad.

(7) *Cairns or Tumuli* : Here are treated only such tumuli or cairns as do not contain a cist, those containing them having already been dealt with under 'underground cists'. Tumuli surrounded by splintered pieces of granite from 8' to 12' long placed on end have been discovered in Travancore. Simple barrows or cairns are met with at several places in the Madura district. Cairns are found on the sides of the Western Ghats nearly as far south as Cape Comorin. On an average such a cairn contains 20 sepulchral urns, many having 30 or 40. Cairns abound on the Nilgiris. The barrows vary in extreme width from 20' to 60' while the stone enclosures of the cairns vary from 10' to 28' in diam. The barrows are also surrounded by one or two circles of stones. Usually there are two oblong slabs placed north-east and south-west within the cairn or barrow. In the cairns are found burnt bones and ashes, pottery, iron weapons and domestic implements, a few bronze vessels, one or two bronze and copper weapons—the only known examples south of the Central Provinces—a few gold ornaments and beads of glass, agate and cornelian. Some of the forms of pottery are quite unique—especially the cylindrical long jar. Yet the most important item among the contents was the figurines on the domed lids of urns. The men are represented with beards clipped short. Both men and women

wear head-dresses. The clothing, on the whole affords the most striking contrast to that of the present inhabitants of the hills. Sheep, horses, buffaloes with bells round their necks, peacocks and leopards are all represented. In some bells are found. All these finds generally come from one to four feet below the slabs where are placed the cinerary urns. Sometimes the bones instead of being placed in an urn are put under an inverted bronze vessel. The bronzes contained 29·89% of tin. "The Indian bronzes show a considerable excess of tin, as compared with those found in European sepulchral tumuli. Worsaae gives 10% of tin as the average of the latter". The bronze vessels are so elegant in shape and so delicately ornamented with flutings and lotus patterns that they almost resemble Greek or Egyptian art and stand apart from the other finds." The beads have white enamel. There are also discovered some beads of amber. "There must have been hundreds of these cairns in numberless groups" in the Coimbatore district. Those at Sirumugai in this district vary from 6' to 24' in diameter including the enclosing stone-circle and they reach to a height of about 3' above the natural ground level. After digging into the natural soil to a depth of about 4 feet, one comes across a burial urn. These urns are 4' in height and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' in diameter at their greatest width. Inside the urn is fine red earth solidified. In this mess are found the remains of human skulls and bones, corroded iron implements, a few beads and stone-flakes. The beads were four-sided, barrel-shaped, made of

white crystal neatly cut and perforated. The stone flakes were found in the same urn in which the iron implements were discovered. In Salem there are two types of these cairns.

In one variety there are large urns while in the other there is only a pit filled with earth different from the surrounding soil. The urns contain human bones, small vessels, iron implements and ornaments. The urns are not large enough to receive the bodies of full-grown individuals even in the crouched position. The beads are both round and oval, of white cornelian, quartz and some dark green stone. Some of them are ornamented with a thick and hard white enamel. The Hassan district of Mysore abounds with tumuli. One of the longest of these has got three circles of upright stones, one round the bottom, the other two about 4' apart and half way up the slope. The tumulus rises 15' above the surface of the rock on which it stands and is almost circular with 75 ft. diameter at the top. It is made entirely of black clay with here and there a thin layer of sand. The majority of the remains in the Chingleput district are low tumuli surrounded by stone circles. The mound rises only 2' above the surrounding soil. One at Perumbair had a circle of stones 27' in diameter. At this place in the tumuli at a depth of 2' to 7' below the surface are found either a pyriform urn or oblong pottery sarcophagus rounded at the edges and supported by three rows of short legs. These sarcophagi vary in length from 2' to 7'. The finds consist of iron implements, pottery, bones and

shell ornaments. One neolithic celt was also found. In a low mound, presumably of late date, was a skeleton in "a cross-legged sitting posture, with the hands resting on the knees as if in meditation". It contained a black stone idol of Ganesa. In some of the cairns at Gajjalakonda in the Kurnool district at a depth of about 3' from the surface lie, under a great block of stone, sarcophagi surrounded by food and water pots. The sarcophagus had two rows of four legs each. They contained nothing but a few fragments of bones. Other cairns contained ordinary burial urns in place of the sarcophagi. The cairns of Chikanhalli, eight miles S. W. of Shorapoor have a single or double circle of stones. One had three circles. The tumulus rises only to a height of 3' from the level of the natural soil. On the top of the tumulus are two slabs N. E. and S. W. On the S. W. side are the two entrance stones. About 4' below the surface of the soil there are two large irregular slabs lying N. E. and S. W. At 10' from the surface there are remains of pottery and bones. Below this the floor is formed of slabs 5' broad and 6' long. On these slabs nearly 15 to 20 urns are placed. The earth heaped on these is different from the gravel of the spot, being quite soft. It shows the usual greyish earth brought from a distance.

Tumuli exactly similar to those from Nagpore to be presently described, have been reported from the Godavery. The barrows which were found in the

various districts of the "Nagpore province" had stone circles. There were many groups of them at Junapani near Nagpore, one of the groups containing as many as 54 of them. In general the tumulus was a circular mound of earth surrounded by a single or double circle of boulders. The diameter of the circles varied from 20' to 56'. Two or three stones of the circle were dressed and bore "cup-marks". The height of the mound was seldom greater than 3' to 4' above the ground-level. After digging 2' or 3½' below the surface, there were found urns and, associated with them whitish earth totally different from the surrounding soil. "The class of iron implements found in these tumuli in different parts of the Nagpore district and further south again, resemble one another as closely as do the tumuli themselves". The implements found were invariably of iron. One of the barrows yielded bells. In only one instance some human bones were found. Only one oval-shaped barrow has been referred to and its excavation described. This comes from Kamptee in the Central Provinces. It was 225 ft. in circumference. The stones forming the circle round it were "from 3 to 4 ft. solid and from 1' to 4' high". At a depth of 5' from the top were found some cocoanut shells and pottery. The pottery had flat bottoms 4" in diameter, and conical lids. They were regularly placed. At the depth of 6' was found the iron end of a plough tipped with steel and was more primitive than one in use at the present day. At 6½' was found one skeleton—horizontally laid

in the ground. There were many iron and hard steel implements on both sides of the body. On the chest were copper vessels which broke to pieces. On the lid of one of them were figures representing geese, a snake and a bird. A wire ring of gold and alloy was also found associated with another skeleton. The pottery was evidently wheel-made and differed in material from the present in this that whereas the material in use now is pure clay the one used for this pottery was mixed with fine gravel. The explorer on the strength of the absence in this and other like barrows of punch-marked coins assigns them to a period as early as 1200 B. C., because some of the silver punch-marked coins found by him from the mounds of Lauriya were ascribed by General Cunningham to 1000 B. C. Similar remains are reported from Chota Nagpore.

The mounds of Lauriya in Champaran have been systematically explored. The shape of these mounds is more or less conical. They were built of layers of yellow clay, a few inches in thickness, with grass and leaves of trees laid between them. The clay seems to have been brought from some locality 15 miles away. At a depth of about 6' to 12' was found a deposit of calcined human bones mixed with charcoal and a small gold leaf, with the figure of a standing woman, perhaps the Earth-goddess, stamped upon it. There was a wooden pillar in the centre of the mound running all the height. Dr. Bloch considers it to be a Vedic burial corresponding in

details with the expressions of Rigveda X, 18, 10 and 13. Of the figure of the Earth-goddess, analogues of which are found in the prehistoric tombs of Mycenæ, he remarks, "the underlying idea of both" was "that the remains of the dead person are entrusted to the tender cares of the Mother Earth." He assigns the mounds on these grounds to the Vedic period. General Cunningham dates them 600 B. C.—1500 B. C.

Passing on to Rajputana we learn from the works of Sir John Malcolm that the genuine Bhils raised cairns to the memory of their dead chiefs. Then they poured oil on the top and added red-lead. Cairns and one large mound of earth were discovered at Deosa in Eastern Rajputana. In some of them ashes with a few fragments of calcined bones were found. Two of the cairns yielded rude stone implements. The earthen mound was domical. It was 12' in height, 53' in breadth from N. and S. and 100' in length. It had five strata. In the third stratum from the top were found roundish-shaped earthen vessels with lids. They contained human bones partially affected by fire. In the fourth stratum also human bones were discovered. This stratum also yielded a few flakes of flinty quartzite. It seems to have been the practice both of the Minas and the Rajputs to raise cairns in memory of a valiant hero who died fighting. To these every passer-by thinks it has a duty to add a stone. In Tibet and Tartary there are 'manis' or heaps of stones. Every passer-by keeps such a *mani* to the right and adds a stone

to it. May we not see some connection between the two practices?

(8) *Stone circles*: Under this title are dealt with all stone circles which stand by themselves and are not included in any of the above categories, irrespective of whether they contain a deposit or not. Such independent stone circles are not very common in India. They occur in Mysore. At Bowringpete in that province examples of two concentric circles are reported. Some of them yielded burial urns buried in the centre. They are said to be in hundreds near Amravati. Near Poona in connection with the unorthodox worship of Vetāl there is always a stone circle. From an account of a perfect circle of twelve stones it seems that the stone representing the Vetāl forms part of the circle. This principal stone is 3' high and faces the east. Then follow two small stones about 1½' high and then a longer one 2' in height. This arrangement is carried through the whole circle. One extra stone stands at the entrance. The stones are pyramidal in shape. In the district of Nagpore stone circles are found in many places. Ashes, chips of pottery and iron vessels have been found beneath the stones. At Deosa in Eastern Rajputana were discovered the remains of four stone circles. The stones varied from 3' to 4' in height and from 2' to 3' in thickness. Stone circles have been recorded in the neighbourhood of Peshawar in the Kabul Valley. One is about 50' in diameter, the tallest stone standing being 11' high. In this particular circle there are traces of an outer ring 50' to 60' apart.

(9) *Trilithons*: At Navacallum in Travancore on a semi-circular terrace cut from a projection in the side of a hill there stood a monument consisting of two upright stones supporting one across their top. Trilithons are reported from the Bhandara district in the Central Provinces. The Santhals of Bengal worship trilithons to this day. Such monuments occur among the Khasis.

(10) *Menhirs and Alignments*: An alignment being only a series of menhirs "arranged in open lines on some definite system", ought to be treated along with menhirs. While treating of menhirs we shall also have to deal with other monoliths which are not only a "rough pillar stone with its base fixed into the earth" like a menhir but bears evident traces of workmanship and are elaborately sculptured; for the purpose in both cases is the same. Further we will trace the uses of monolithic pillars through later history of Indian architecture for they too will be seen to be further developments of the rude stone pillar. Verakals or hero-stones which, as remarked above, bear sculptures, are met with in Travancore. In the Coimbatore district at Nallampatti in the centre of the necropolis stood an obelisk 13' by 6½'. * At Pallipollum in Salem not far from a group of cairns was an upright stone 18' high planted in the ground. Hero-stones are common on the Mysore side of the Nilgiris in Coorg and in the western part of Bellary. It is generally 6' high. In Mysore menhirs are of four varieties. The Karukallu are erected at the foundation of a

village. The Yellakallu are boundary stones and are often rudely carved. The Masti-kallu are stones marking the spots where widows become *sati*. Lastly the Virakals are the carved hero-stones. In Belgaum occurred one alignment. It consisted of two rows of thirteen stones each. In front of them was one small row of three stones. On the opposite side were four small "tables" of stones. The Kois of the Bastar country erect over the ashes of their dead great monoliths. Alignments are scattered through some parts of Orissa and all through Chota Nagpore. In Singbhum the stones are cylindrical in form and seem to have been brought from a great distance. Some of the menhirs measure 17' 2" x 9' 2". They are arranged in a straight line or an arc. In other places some of the menhirs had a sort of "truncate pyramidal shape". The Khasis are quite famous for their alignments. The menhirs measure generally from 2' to 14' in height sometimes reaching to the height of even 27'. They are in a line. The stones are rough-hewn and taper gradually to their tops. Always the tallest stone stands in the centre with its top sometimes ornamented with a small stone fitting in. Occasionally it is carved—perhaps a representation of the dead. In Eastern Rajputana, the stone-circles at Deosa seem to have surrounded large rough monoliths. Near Deosa there was a monolith originally 19' high fixed in the ground by stones jammed in at the base. In the Punjab the common form of ancestor worship is the placing of a stone on which is cut the effigy of the deceased in a small hut beside a spring. In the Chandrabhāgā valley this worship

takes the form of the erection near the village of a monolith with a rough effigy of the dead person. On the top of this is fixed a circular stone. Though they are sometimes neatly carved, in general the workmanship is crude. In this practice we might see another stream of influence from Central Asia, where such figures abound, just as we saw a possible connection between India and parts of the Central Asian region in the matter of raising cairns. In the hill districts of the Punjab there are a large number of Sati stones which are far more ornate than the monoliths of the plains. "Some of them are 6' and 7' high and all are carved with figures of the Rajahs and of the women who became 'sati' with them." This use of the rough monolith to mark the death of a person seems to have been largely extended; for in historic times monoliths seem to have been raised to commemorate any event. Thus Asoka during the 3rd century B. C. erected thirty monolithic pillars, some of them marking his journey to the birth place of the Buddha at Rum-mindei in the Nepalese Tarai. At this last place the pillar through its inscription plainly tells us that it was erected to commemorate the birth of Buddha at that place. But these stone pillars of Asoka and later times are all works of great art bearing excellent polish even to this day and hence they are not strictly megalithic. Nevertheless the fact that both types of monuments are monolithic and used to mark events proves their genetic affinity. Some of these beautiful monoliths attain

the height of 32' 9½". They gradually taper towards the top. The next example of such a monolith is the pillar at Besnagar in the vicinity of the Stupa at Sanchi, dated about 150 B. C. In Southern India the pillars seem to have been associated with the temples of the Jains and of the Hindus. In South Canara alone there are thirty of these elegant pillars attached to the Jain temples. This transference of the rude monolith from the cemetery to the temple as a highly polished and worked product need not surprise us, for, as the recent work of Professor Elliot Smith has tended to prove, much of the temple ritual is a borrowing from death-rites.

(11) *Pottery-tombs*: Under this title will fall all those cases in which a pottery urn or a sarcophagus is directly buried in the ground without any stone circle marking the spot. The pottery tombs occurring in other circumstances have already been described under proper headings. In the district of Madura under a large slab 3' below the surface are buried pyriform urns. They contain a few uncalcined bones and iron implements. Sometimes semi-transparent beads are also found. In Coimbatore large earthenware jars 5' high and 4' in girth, wide-mouthed and tapering at the bottom, are imbedded in the soil with a huge flat stone laid over them. At Bairat in Eastern Rajputana nearly 3' below the surface of the soil were discovered four cinerary urns placed in a regular order. They contained human bones. There were some

boulders over these urns which, the explorer thought, had fallen there from the adjoining rock.

A peculiar structure in dry masonry: On the summit of a hill, on the Nilgiris, there was a massive structure peculiar to that district. It was of a circular shape. The interior being 5' in diameter and 6' in height. The sides of this well were built of large blocks carefully adjusted without the help of the mason's art. The well was 7' thick and 7' above ground. The structure resembled "a section of a truncated round tower". The monument must have entailed tremendous labour as such stones would have had to be brought from a long distance up the hill. The well was filled with small stones rising into a pile. In the centre was a long stone tapering upwards. When this stone was removed there were found "some pieces of a large urn; a miniature buffalo's head of hard-baked clay; a human head, the size of a lime, of the same—the hair being represented by little dotted rings; and a small sickle-shaped iron-knife. It thus seems to have been a funerary monument. Fergusson thinks this monument to be 'identical with the Couchas of Northern Africa'. But the similarity can be shown to be only in form and not in purpose. The Coucha, to judge from the description of it by Fergusson, is essentially a cairn raised over a tomb while we have every reason to think that the Nilgiri monument is a tomb itself. The Couchas may with greater propriety be compared with some of the cairns of Eastern Rajputana

described above, but in form, the latter being of a truncate pyramidal shape, there is dissimilarity.

Now we may conveniently summarise our information on some of the important topics: First about cup-marks: To the list given by Peet of megalithic countries in which cup-marks are found, must be added India. As we have seen in the foregoing account, the cup-marks are reported from North Arcot and the Central Provinces. Secondly I shall shortly deal with the modes of disposal practised so that it will be easy for the reader to compare them with the modern customs. We have seen reason to think that the rock-cut tombs of the Western Coast were meant for cremated persons. But in Tinnevely the rock-sepulchres contained skeletons. As for the dolmens proper only two localities have yielded skeletons. In Central Mysore only one skeleton from only one dolmen out of a great number has been recorded. In the Upper Godavery and Krishna districts the statement about the dead being buried is very general without any concrete details. Yet in both the localities incineration was practised; for most dolmens which have yielded any human remains have yielded calcined bones or burnt ashes placed in earthenware pots. We may take it for granted that the dolmens of the Godavery came from the West Coast, for the peculiar distribution sketched in the previous discussion cannot otherwise be accounted for. Thus any traces of inhumation in the rock-tombs and the true dolmens are found only when we go inland and these too

are quite scanty. This means that incineration was a fairly well-established custom during the early part of the megalithic culture in Southern India. This will dispose of the common dogma that incineration was introduced into India solely by the Aryans. As a matter of fact the Aryans themselves when they entered India practised both cremation and inhumation. Might it not be that the indigenous practice of incineration much influenced the Aryans soon to give up inhumation? It is when we come to the underground cists and cairns that we find the practice of inhumation to be more frequent. But as I have tried to show these are later forms of monuments and far inland.

If we inquire into the details about the orientation of the corpse in these funerary monuments we find that most of these customs which will be described as still existing in contemporary India prevailed in those early times. Thus the corpse in the dolmen of Central Mysore was lying in a flexed position on the right side, head to the east; those in the dolmens of the Godavery lay on the right side head to the north. Skeletons lying on their left side were found in the cairns of Jewurgi. In the cairns at Andola and Secundarabad bodies lay north and south on their faces. The skeleton in the rock-tomb at Tontpur in Eastern Rajputana was on its back, head to the west, while the one in the cist of South Mirzapur lay north and south. Extended burial is observed in the cairns of Hyderabad. We may take it that in some of the

big urns of Madura and Tinnevely the corpse was placed doubled up. In a cairn in Chingleput there was discovered a corpse in cross-legged sitting posture.

I shall close this part of the paper with a discussion about the age of the Indian dolmens. As iron is found among them they have generally been assigned a very low date, i. e., not before 600 B. C. This date was at first accepted by Professor Elliot Smith who then traced the megalithic culture of India to the enterprises of the Phœnician traders about the 8th century B. C. But in the light of fresh data he is inclined latterly to think that parts of this heliolithic culture complex reached India at different periods. This opinion of his was mainly based upon the belief that typologically the Indian dolmens were "certainly imitations" of the Caucasian ones. I shall show that Professor Elliot Smith was misled by the general accounts given of these structures in the books dealing with rough stone monuments and that essentially the Indian dolmens are different from the Caucasian ones and intimately linked up with the Egyptian funerary monuments. In the holed dolmens of the Caucasus the aperture is in the southern slab. In the Indian examples by far the greatest number of the dolmens seem to have the orifice in the eastern slab, these with the aperture in the southern coming next and those in the northern standing last. This eastern orientation definitely links the Indian dolmens with the Egyptian funerary struc-

tures after the IV dynasty, and separates them from their Caucasian analogues. Further in the Caucasian specimens the hole is also sometimes cut out in the lower extremity of the slab and thus is of a semi-circular form. Such a change in the position of the aperture does imply a change in the beliefs connected with the rites of the dead. Such a feature therefore may be quite typical of any region in which it occurs and not derivable directly from the centre of origin of these monuments, say Egypt. But nowhere in the dolmens of India has this characteristic feature been observed. Again sometimes the hole appears in the end slab, and one side is open in the Caucasus, e. g., the dolmen at Tuapse. Nor again has this peculiarity been noted on the Indian field though it occurs in Syria in the case of the dolmen at Kosseir. The hole in the upper extremity of the slab which is a peculiarity of the Coorg and some of the Mysore dolmens seems to suggest that the experiment of cutting a proper hole in conformity with the beliefs of the people who introduced these monuments was being tried on the Indian soil. Again the hole is not universal in Indian dolmens. The feature of the compartments so common in the dolmens of India is conspicuous by its absence in those of the Caucasus. This again is a link, as will be shown in the sequel, with the Egyptian practices.

I think this discussion will dispose of any of the supposed close affinities between the Caucasian and Indian dolmens and will therefore force us to inquire

into the age of the Indian dolmens from another point of view. The same may be said about any pretended similarity between the Syrian dolmens and the Indian ones. In Syria and Palestine the feature of the hole seems to be rather scanty for no holed dolmen has been found in Moab. Further the wedge shape which is so common in the Syrian region occurs only as an exception in the dolmens of one locality in India, and that too far inland—in Belgaum. Thus it is clear that we have to look for the origin of the Indian structures not to the Aegean but towards Egypt. Thus oriented we may be able to fix some limits for the age of the dolmens in India on typological considerations. But this task will not be attempted here. The question will be dealt with in another part of the paper in connection with the origin of the dolmen.

I have already indicated how the peculiarities of the elaborate rock-tomb at Calicut lead us to date that specimen and similar ones between the IV dynasty and the Middle Kingdom. Perhaps the latter terminus will be the proper one. Here I propose to explore two other possible approaches. Dealing with the affinities of the mound at Pulicondah with the Thupa Ramayana, a Buddhist stupa of 2nd century B. C., Fergusson remarks that if the latter was derived from the former, the former "must probably be as old as 1000 B. C., for it would take many centuries before so rude a style of architecture could be reformed into so polished an example as the Thupa Rama-

vana." Further he considers the rude circles at Amravati as "humble copies" of the railing of the Buddhist Stupas. If therefore we succeed in showing that just the contrary is likely to be the truer state of things, i. e., it is the Thupa Ramayana and the railings of the Stupas that are derived from the crude tumuli and the rude circle of stones, then we shall have the authority of an expert architect to date the megalithic monuments of India at 1000 B. C. and earlier on purely architectural grounds. Firstly, the Buddhist Stupa is built of bricks and not of mud or clay. The use of bricks for funeral mounds is first mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* where also is the first reference to a mound raised over the dead. In the mound of Lauria we have thus to recognise the mixture of two burial rites—the Vedic and the Dravidian for the mound forms no part of the Vedic burial practices as far as we know them. Hence the use of clay for the building up of a mound is pre-Aryan and hence pre-Buddhistic. This conclusion also follows from the date assigned to the mound by Dr. Bloch. It follows then that clay mounds are pre-Buddhistic and hence cannot be derived from Buddhist monuments.

Further definite piece of evidence is available from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* which says that the round mound is raised by the Easterners who are ungodly, and exhorts godly people not to follow them. We may understand by this—which is the only reasonable interpreta-

tion—that the round mound was looked upon as a Dravidian item. According to all the schools of Indologists this literary work is pre-Buddhistic. Hence the round mound which the Buddhist Stupa resembles was regarded as a Dravidian speciality before Buddha's time: again if the rude mounds were imitations of the Buddhist *stupa* one fails to understand why it is only rarely that one comes across any structure on the top of the mound. Further one cannot explain the presence on these mounds not only of single but double, triple and even fourfold circles of stones rising one above another. On the other hand, the Buddhist *stupa* with the relic casket placed at the bottom, in the centre, betrays its origin from the tumulus or cairn with the dolmen inside. A people copying from the *stupa* would not make their inner chamber, the dolmen, so imposing as it is. The fact is that the ordinary tumulus is essentially a development of the dolmen with the traditions of the megalithic culture while the Buddhist *stupa* is a later refinement of the same. As for the railing of the Buddhist *stupa* at least one feature in it, viz., the *toranas* or gateways—we can clearly demonstrate as being due to the influence of Southern India. The Sanchi Stupa has got four of these gates at the four cardinal points towering high above the rest of the railing. These are regarded as the latest addition to that great monument which had been receiving accretions from the time of Asoka. In the original railing

there were entrances at these four points but they were screened by an extension of one side of the railing in front of them so that they opened sideways. But when the gate-ways came to be added these could no longer be kept side-ways for the simple reason that in that position they could not have faced the points of the compass. Hence by some alterations direct entrances were formed in front of which these *toranas* stand. The southern gate-way is regarded as the oldest. The inscription on this tells us that some part of it was the work of the sculptor of the great king Satakarni. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil identifies this king with one of the Sâtavahan a dynasty of the Deccan. Here then is clear evidence that a new and special feature introduced into the Buddhist railing at a late period was inspired by the South. If we can trace the source of this to the megalithic stone-circle I think we shall have made a case for the derivation of the Buddhist railing from the fully developed stone-circle of the megalithic culture. In the foregoing account it is pointed out that in the stone-circles of Salem district, frequently at four points of the compass, there are four stones towering above the others. I submit here is the clearest proof of the derivation of *toranas* of the Buddhist railing from the stone-circle of Southern India. Thus the derivation of the Buddhist *stupa* from the megalithic mound being demonstrated we might with Fergusson say that the megalithic monuments of India must be as old as 1000 B. C. on the ground of architectural development. I give this date for what it

is worth ; personally I have got grave doubts about such reasoning based on the tacit assumption of uniform rate of development. In the history of a community it is very often the case that in one period when it feels the quickening impulse of, say, foreign contact or internal upheaval the progress that it makes is incomparably faster than in other periods, when it stands almost stagnant. As witnesses to this general truth we may cite the example of Japan. What has she not achieved in fifty years ? If a future sociologist were to date the works of Japan on the assumption of uniform rate of progress he might well have to allow five centuries for this phenomenal growth. Another instance may be quoted from ancient civilizations. In Egypt the invention of the copper tools enabled the ancient Egyptians to make such wide strides in arts and crafts within a short period as had been impossible for them to achieve for how many thousand years one knows not. "The foregoing dating, therefore, may be accepted only with this warning. The other approach is already indicated in the above discussion. It now only remains to expand it with other details which make the argument more convincing."

The *Satapatha Brahmana* ascribes to the ungodly Easterners not only the round sepulchral mound but what looks like a cist with such a mound. It says that the godly people, i. e., the Aryans, when they dig a pit for depositing the burial they do not interpose anything between the earth and the burial but the ungodly Easterners separate the

burial from the earth by means of a stone basin or some such thing. I think this is a clear reference to the practice of preparing such stone-lined graves as are reported from South Mirzapur. The work at the lowest computation—the one accepted in “The Cambridge History of India”—has to be ascribed to somewhere between 800 and 600 B. C., while there is another very influential school of Indologists according to which the date of the work may be pushed back to 1000 B. C. Even if we accept 8th century B. C. as the date of this work we have a definite period fixed as to the lower terminus for the dolmens. I have tried to show that the cists have to be regarded as developments of the dolmens. If then the cists are referred to in a work of the 8th century B. C. then the dolmens may safely be put down at a century or two earlier. Thus we may provisionally hold that they must be dated at the latest 1000 B. C. a date which as we have seen, also will have to be accepted for some of the megalithic monuments on the reasoning proposed by Fergusson.

Anthropologists will take objection to this date on the ground that iron tools and weapons are found in large quantities in these dolmens and other megalithic structures. I have no intention of going here into the large question of the invention of the use of iron. I will only point out some indications of the high antiquity of the use of iron in India: most Indologists hold that there is no positive mention of

iron in the oldest Sanskrit book, the Rigveda. But when we come to works that immediately follow the Rigveda we get distinct allusions to iron. These works will have to be ascribed to the period 1200—1000 B. C. according to the Cambridge School of Indologists. We may pertinently ask what is the true interpretation of this phenomenon of the Aryans entering India as a bronze-using people and taking to the use of iron in a few centuries? The natural explanation seems to be that it was the contact with the iron-using indigenous folk that led to the acquirement by the Aryans of the skill in working and using iron. If this reasoning be correct then the use of iron in Southern India may go so far as 1500 B. C. Perhaps iron was being used by some communities side by side with polished stone. Such a state of things may well explain why we get shell bangles, in distinctly neolithic surroundings and also the fact that a bangle of slate, turned on the lathe, was found on a neolithic site in south Mirzapur. Again at Bhitā near Allahabad Sir J. Marshall discovered two boxes of steatite turned on the lathe and well-finished in a stratum which must belong to the 8th century B. C. This means that by the 8th century B. C. the people of India must have attained a very high degree of skill in the management of iron. The same conclusion we reach from another line of argument. In a tumulus near Lauriya were found two iron coins and an iron coffin 9 ft. in length. In the coffin were human bones. It was so corroded that it fell to

pieces. In a Pāli work treating of the death of Buddha we are told that in the case of the death of a paramount sovereign and of holy persons like the Buddha there was a special procedure to be followed for cremation. The body was to be wrapped up in five hundred layers of alternate new cloth and cotton wool and was to be placed in an iron trough full of oil, a similar one serving as the lid. It seems the Buddhists adopted this custom of using iron trough from amongst the stock of customs which they possessed before Buddhism. This again argues for a great skill in the working of iron at a comparatively early period. In the end I again insist that in the case of Southern India where people passed from the Neolithic into the Iron age without any intermediate stage we have to date the culture periods themselves by a reference to typological features of the dolmens and not reverse the procedure by dating the dolmens according to the culture periods.*

Number of the monuments: It is often said that France is *par excellence* the country of the dolmens. Some 4000 and more of them have been recorded from that region. Yet as we can see from the treatment of the subject in Dèchelette the dolmens proper and the *allees couvertes* have

* As for the antiquity of iron in the world the recent researches into the Hittite tablets seem to carry it far higher than has been generally recognised. Prof. Sayce has given us some interesting information on this topic from the tablets, one of them showing that though the Hittites used iron in the 14th century B.C. its origin was an enigma then; he first tells us that the Hittite Kings brought "black iron of hea" r the Sk " [7 m ' 1 21) 165.]

been mixed up together. So we cannot form any correct judgment about the number of the dolmens proper. Nor again do we know how many of these dolmens are perfectly closed chambers, how many of the three-sided variety and how many again of the degraded type. In India no such counting has been made. Yet the few figures that we possess may help us to form some opinion about the number of dolmens in India. From Bellary dolmens proper have been counted as numbering 1567. In the Iralavanda cemetery there were nearly 600 of them. At Udenhally they numbered 200. 54 are reported from the village of Mashalli. In the Belgaum district at one place there were 30 or 40 of them. Some others in small numbers are also recorded. But only these large numbers taken together give us a total of 2451 and 2461. There are many general statements about the extent of land occupied by these monuments at various places. Thus at Chittor in North Arcot there is more than a square mile of land strewn with these. At Devnur they occupied 3 or 4 acres while in Shorapoor district one of the fields occupied by them measured five acres. Taking all these statements into account I do not think that I shall be putting the number too high if I put it down at 5000. The number of other megalithic monuments is almost impossible to guess at. Cists and three-sided dolmens are found in hundreds. This discussion will suffice to show that we must

regard India as the home of the dolmen proper while to France belongs the honour of being the home of *allees couvertes*. I have entered into this question here because it has an important bearing on the problem of the origin of the dolmen.

NOTE.

The following references to Prof. G. S. Ghurey's article on "Funerary Monuments of India" were inadvertently omitted in the Footnotes.—Editor.

Foot-notes.

Vol. VI. P	26	Note to "Malabar"—	I. A. (VIII) 309—11 &c.
"	"	27 " "latrine"—	Elliot Smith (2) 513 ;
"	"	27 " "open"—	<i>ibid.</i>
"	"	28 " "Egypt"—	<i>ibid</i> 521-2 ;
"	"	28 " "kingdom"—	Maspero, pp. 172-3 ;
"	"	28 " "manuments"—	Logan, p. 180 ;
"	"	28 " "cremation"—	I. A. (VIII) 311 ;
"	"	28 " "dolmen"—	Logan p. 180 ;
"	"	29 " "vessels"—	A. H. Longhurst : <i>Rock-Cut Tomb near Calicut, Archaeological Report, 1911-12 ;</i>
"	"	29 " "half-baked"—	I. C. P. Arch. p. 243 ;
"	"	29 " "clay"—	Logan p. 182
"	"	29 " "river"—	I. C. P. Arch. p. 242 ;
"	"	30 " "late-rite"—	J. R. A. S. (N. 5. VII) 31 ;
"	"	30 " "presence"—	A. S. J. (1902-03) 116 ;
"	"	30 " "bronze"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 117 ;
"	"	30 " "ornaments"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 118 ;
"	"	31 " "position"—	<i>ibid</i> ;
"	"	31 " "calcined"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 119 ;
"	"	31 " "examples"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 120 ;
"	"	31 " "influences"—	Elliot Smith (5) 69 ;
"	"	32 " "dead"—	A. S. I. (1902-03) 131&6 ;
"	"	32 " "position"—	<i>ibid</i> ;
"	"	33 " "discovered"—	A. D. S. - C. (1913-14) p. 44-45 ;
"	"	33 " "wood"—	A. S. R. (VI) 14-15 ;
"	"	33 " "5 ft."—	<i>ibid</i> p. 37 ;
"	"	33 " "west"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 39. pl. III.
"	"	34 " "surface"—	Logan p. 180 ;
"	"	34 " "herault"—	Fergusson p. 343 ;
"	"	35 " "distinguished"—	See Borlase p. 626 fig 563 and p. 638.

"	"	35	Note to "oroust"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 480 ;
"	"	35	" " "capstone"—	<i>ibid</i> fig. 595 ;
"	"	35	" " "offerings-day"	Thurston (IV) 389-90 ;
"	"	36	" " "available"—	Madura, p. 248 ;
"	"	36	" " "rifled"—	J. A. S. B. (1888 pt. I) 69 ;
"	"	36	" " "height"—	Madura, p. 278 ;
"	"	37	" " "absent"—	J. R. A. S. (N. 5. VII.) 18-20 ;
"	"	37	" " "capstone"—	<i>ibid</i> , p. 24 ;
"	"	37	" " "sites"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 21-22 ;
"	"	37	" " "discovered"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 23 ;
"	"	37	" " "shells"—	Elliot Smith (5) ;
"	"	38	" " "Chingleput"—	Hornell pp. 46-7 & 162 ;
"	"	38	" " "shells"	<i>ibid</i> pp. 47 & 61-2 ;
"	"	38	" " * Dr. Haddon tells me that shell armlets were made in New Guinea ; etc. before iron was introduced by the Europeans.	
"	"	39	" " "dated"—	A. S. I. (1911-12) 94 ;
"	"	39	" " "times"—	Hornell, p. 64 ;
"	"	40	" " "alike"—	Breeks, p. 106 ;
"	"	40	" " "urns"—	M. J. L. S. (XIV) 122-3 ;
"	"	40	" " "Wales"—	Fergusson, p. 472 ;
"	"	40	" " "stone"—	P. A. S. B. (1868) 152 & Trans. Ethn. Soc. of Lon- don (N. 5. VII) pp. 299 ;
"	"	41	" " "stone"—	Arch. Camb. (1880) 95 ;
"	"	41	" " "chamber"—	<i>ibid</i> (1870) 52 ;
"	"	41	" " "antechamber"—	<i>ibid</i> (1880) 94 ;
"	"	41	" " "disappeared"—	Fergusson, p. 472 ;
"	"	42	" " "breadthwise"—	Arch. camb. 1880 (95) ;
"	"	42	" " "surface"—	I. A. (X) 1 ;
"	"	43	" " "symbol"—	I. A. (X) 3 ;
"	"	43	" " "Coorg"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 2 ;
"	"	43	" " "Salem"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 97 ;
"	"	44	" " "Mysore"—	Foote, p. 180 ;
"	"	44	" " "Museum"—	I. A. (X) p. 11 ;
"	"	44	" " "ceramics"—	J. H. A. S. (1917) 57-74 ;
"	"	45	" " "swastika"—	Wilson, p. 870 ;
"	"	45	" " "Tennessee"—	<i>ibid</i> 871 ;
"	"	45	" " "Smith"—	(5)

„	„	46	Note to "Portugal"—	Borlase, p. 708 ;
„	„	48	"corrosion"—	I. A. (X) 3-5 ;
„	„	48	"was 73-3"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 6 ;
„	„	48	"noted"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 7 ;
„	„	48	"parts"—	Prof. Petrie " <i>Tools & Weapons</i> " pp. 10, 25 ;
„	„	48	"found"—	I. A. (X) p. 7-8 ;
„	„	48	"dolmen"—	<i>ibid</i> 9-11 ;
„	„	49	"clay"—	I. A. (II) 86-7 ;
„	„	49	"Kolar"—	<i>ibid</i> ;
„	„	49	"Nilgiris"—	M. J. L. S. (1878) 162 ;
„	„	50	"thickness"—	I. A. (V) 159 ;
„	„	50	"acres"—	<i>ibid</i> ;
„	„	51	"marks"—	J.R.A.S. (XIII) pp. 90-94 ;
„	„	51	"Bagdad"—	I. A. (V) 255 ;
„	„	51	"Arcot"—	Imperial Gazetteer of India [II] 96.
„	„	52	"monuments"—	I. A. [X] 97-98 ;
„	„	52	"specimens"—	Taylor, p. 358 ;
„	„	52	"rubbish"—	J. B. B. R. A. S. [IV] 406 ;
„	„	52	"Dharwad dist"—	<i>ibid</i> 410 ;
„	„	53	"locality"—	I. A. [III] 307 ;
„	„	53	"slabs"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 308 ;
„	„	54	"quarter"—	J. B. B. R. A. S. [IV] 408 ;
„	„	54	"cists"—	Taylor, p. 336 ;
„	„	54	"ground"—	<i>ibid</i> 329 ;
„	„	54	"available"—	J. B. B. R. A. S. [IV] 385 ;
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„	„	54	"spot"—	<i>ibid</i> 332 ;
„	„	54	"urns"—	J. B. B. R. A. S. [IV] 384 ;
„	„	54	"Rajunkolloor"—	<i>ibid</i> 382-3 ;
„	„	55	"quarried"—	Taylor, pp. 332-4 ;
„	„	55	"high"—	J. B. B. R. A. S. [IV] 383 ;
„	„	55	"bones"—	Taylor, p. 335 ;
„	„	55	"anywhere"—	<i>ibid</i> 337 ;
„	„	56	"discovered"—	I. A. [IV] 305 ;
„	„	56	"ways"—	Fergusson, pp. 486-7 ;
„	„	56	"left"—	Chanda, p. 60 ;

"	"	56	Note to "diameter"—	Seoni, pp. 37-8 ;
"	"	56	" "to"—	J. Ethn. Soc. of London [N.5 I.] 207; "
"	"	56	" "wood"—	S. A. S. R. [VI] 14-15 ;
"	"	56	" "diameter"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 37 ; 7
"	"	57	" "slabs"—	<i>ibid</i> p. 106 ;
"	"	57	" "front"—	Gurdon, p. 147 ;
"	"	57	" "lines"—	M. J. L. S. [1879] 39-40 ;
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"	"	101	" "line"—	I. A. VII 27 ;
"	"	101	" "cairns"—	Brecks, p. 106 ;
"	"	101	" "bones"—	I. A. (II) 223 ;
"	"	102	" "found"—	I. A. (II) 9 ;
"	"	102	" "substance"—	Rice (I) 297-8 ;
"	"	103	" "end"—	A.D.S.C. (1914-15)p.40-41 ;
"	"	103	" "skeletons"—	Taylor, pp. 337-40 ;
"	"	104	" "wedge-shape"—	<i>ibid.</i> 341 ;
"	"	104	" "side"—	<i>ibid.</i> 342-4 ;
"	"	104	" "above"—	<i>ibid.</i> 345-48 ;
"	"	104	" "faces"—	<i>ibid.</i> 357 ;
"	"	105	" "compartments"—	J.B.B.R.A.S. (IV) 413-17,
"	"	105	" "position"—	H. A. D. (1915-16) 7
"	"	106	" "sizes"—	I. A. (I) 150 ;
"	"	106	" "12' in diam"—	Mirzapur, p. 198 ;
"	"	106	" "denudation"—	J. A. S. B. (1894 pt. III) 21;
"	"	107	" "long"—	<i>ibid.</i> f. n.
"	"	107	" "Carnatic"—	M. J. L. S. (XIII pt. II.) p. 47-pl. 14 ;
"	"	108	" "wide"—	I. A. (X) 2 ;
"	"	108	" "Belgaum"—	Fergusson, p. 467;
"	"	108	" "India"—	H. A. D. (1917-18);
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"	"	108	" "compass"—	Gurdon, p. 146 ;
"	"	108	" "Malabar"—	Cartailhac, p. 187 fig. 67 ;
"	"	108	" "ancestors"—	Thurston (II) 396 ;
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"	"	109	" "placed"—	Thurston (IV) 153 ;
"	"	109	" "dolmens"—	<i>ibid.</i> p. 169 ;
"	"	110	" "together"—	I. A. (II) 275-6

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„	„	110	„ 'bliss'—	A. D. S. C. (1913-14) 36 ;
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„	„	111	„ 'goddess'—	I. A. (II) 8 ;
„	„	111	„ 'explored'—	Cuddapah p. 25 ;
„	„	111	„ 'symbol'—	A. D. S. C. (1915-16) 28-29 ;
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„	„	114	„ 'found'—	Nilgiri pp. 96-97 ;
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„	„	114	„ 'latter'—	<i>ibid.</i> p. 94 ;
„	„	114	„ 'enamel'—	Nilgiri p. 97 ;
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- „ „ 133 „ 'Dubreul'— *Ancient History of the
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III. ON TWO DUSUN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTHS ABOUT THE PADDY PLANT.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITTRA, M. A., B. L.

A Cosmological or Creation Myth has been defined to be a legend or story which accounts for the creation of the world, of the existence of the Universe and the origin of men, beasts, birds, and other animals, of plants and trees, of the distinction of race and species, and so forth.

The Orang Dusuns or "people of the orchards" are a race of the Indonesian people who inhabit British North Borneo. They are the original inhabitants of the country; and the Bajaus and Ildanuns, both of whom are Proto-Malayan peoples and arrived late in the country drove, the former into the interior of the country.

The Dusuns related the two following ætiological myths or legends which account for the creation of the world, of men and of plants:—

(I) When the world was first created, there was only water with a great rock in it. On this rock there lived a man named Kinharingan and a woman who was called Munsumundok, (It is stated that the former is the chief god of the Dusuns and the latter is his wife). They were very dirty. When they went to bathe in the water, the dirt was washed off their skins. When they smelt this dirt, the man said that it would become land, and so it became land.

Then they made a figure of Stone but it could not speak; therefore they made a figure of wood which though it talked, subsequently became worn out and rotten; after wards they made a figure of clay from which are descended all the men and women who at present dwell upon this earth. From the other originated the earth-men which they made at the same time. Thereafter both the man and his wife began to think as to how they would provide the dwellers of the earth with food, but there was no food to be had. There upon the women gave birth to a Child. On this the man said, "As we have to provide the inhabitants of the earth with food, let us cut this child to bits and plant the same in the ground". This they did accordingly.

I. (i) *After sometime, a rice-plant or paddy and plant grew from the childs' blood.*

- (ii) A Cocconut grew from its head.
- (iii) Betel-nut grew from its fingers.
- (iv) A *Sirih*-vine grew from its ears.
- (v) Its feet gave rise to Indian Corn (maize).
- (vi) Its skin produced a gourd-vine.
- (vii) Sugarcane grew from its throat.
- (viii) Its knees vegetated into the *Kaladi*.
- (ix) And the rest of its body produced other good eatable things.

(Caladium esculentum.)

II. In the beginning, there was a great rock in the midst of the sea. At that time there was no earth, only water. The rock, which was large, opened its mouth, out of which came a man and a woman.

Then both of them looked around and found that there was only water. The woman said to the man "How can we walk as there is no land?". Thereupon they descended from the rock and tried to walk upon the surface of the water and found that they could do so. Then they returned to the rock and, sitting down, stayed there for a long time.

Thereafter they again walked upon the water and went to the house of Bisagit (the spirit of Small-pox), because Bisagit had made land which was at a great distance. After arrival there, the man named Kinharingan and the woman who was called *Munsumundok*, asked for some earth from Bisagit who gave it to them. Thereafter they returned home, pounded the rock and mixed with it Bisagits' earth and it became land.

Then Kinharingan created the Dusans and *Munsumundok* made the Sky. . Thereafter they created the Sun as it was difficult for men to walk about without light. As there was no light during the night, she created the moon, the seven stars (The Pleiades) and other constellations.

They had one son and one daughter. Now his people cried for want of food. So they both killed their girl-child and cut her up to bits, and from this bits were produced all the good and eatable things mentioned below :—

- i) *from her blood grew the paddy plant.*
- ii) *from her head, grew the Cocoanut upon which her eyes and nose can be seen even at the present day.*

- iii) from her arm-bones grew the Sugar-cane.
- iv) Her fingers vegetated into bananas.
- v) other bits of her body produced all other kinds of animals.

[With the rest of this Ætiological myth, I am not concerned for the purposes of this paper]. ¹

From a study of the two foregoing Dusun ætiological myths, we find the curious fact that the *paddy plant grew from the blood of the girl child*. The question now arises how has the idea of plants springing from the blood arisen:—

We already know that the Esthonians and the Jews believe that the blood is the seat of the soul of the particular animal to which it belongs. For this reason they will not take blood for food lest the soul of the animal will enter into them. (See Burne's *Hand book of folklore*-edition 1914, pp. 51-52).

I am inclined to think that the aforementioned Dusun idea has originated from an analogous belief, namely, that the blood is also the seat of the soul of the vegetable or of the vegetation spirit. That this idea was widely current among the nation of antiquity will appear from the following instances.

The ancient Greeks held this belief and gave expression to it in their legends about Adonis and Attis.

Adonis was the Son of Cinyras, King of Paphos in Cyprus. Aphrodite while she was sporting one

¹ Vide. *Studies in Religion, Folklore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malaya Peninsula* by Ivor H. N. Evans, M. A., Cambridge University Press, 1923. pp. 45-47

day with Eros or Cupid, was wounded with one of his arrows and before it was healed she beheld Adonis, and became infatuated with his beauty.

She followed him everywhere, taking part in the chase with him and counselling him to beware of the dangers of the hunt but all to no purpose for he was eventually slain by a wild boar. Aphrodite, in her grief, *sprinkled nectar over the dying youth's blood, from which arose the flower Anemone.*

Then we come to the legend about Attis, a god of Phrygia. Nānā, daughter of the river-god Sangarius, had eaten of the fruit of an *almond tree which had sprung from the blood of Agdistris*, who had been mutilated by the gods. She afterwards bore a son, Attis, celebrated for his beauty, who was suckled and reared by mountain goats. Agdistes or Cybele fell in love with him and drove him mad when he would have married another. He mutilated himself at the foot of a pine tree, into which his spirit passed and *violets sprang from his blood.*

From the preceding Greek legends, we find that three plants, namely, the anemone, the almond tree, and the violets had sprung from the blood of slain persons.

This conception of the blood being the seat of the vegetation spirit, was also current among the ancient Egyptians. They narrated a folktale named *Arpu and Bata* which is the finest of all the ancient Egyptian Stories which have been translated and published by Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie.

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It exists only in one papyrus, that of Madame d'Orbiney, which was purchased by the British Museum in 1857.

Now in this Egyptian folktale we find it stated that when the younger brother Bata transformed himself into a bull and that when at the instigation of the Pharaoh's queen, he was "sacrificed and was upon the shoulders of the people, he shook his neck and he threw two drops of blood over against the two doors of his majesty. The one fell upon the one side, on the great door of Pharaoh, and the other upon the other doors. They grew as two great Persea trees and each of them was excellent".²

From the foregoing ancient Egyptian tale we find that the Persea trees grew from the blood of Bata when he was slain in his bull-transformation.

Now we find that the conception of the blood being the seat of the vegetable soul, or vegetation spirit, is also prevalent among several modern races of people in a low plane of culture. It is for this reason that these latter people sprinkle blood upon their fields under the impression that the same will cause bumper crops to grow. For instance among the Pawnus of America, the blood was squeezed from a peice of the sacrificed victim's body upon the newly deposited grains of corn. By this ritual, they hoped to obtain plentiful crops.³

² *Egyptian Tales* by W. M. Flinders Petrie, 2 vols. London: Methuen & Co. 1895. Vol. II p. 61.

"The Marimos, a Bechuana tribe of West Africa sacrifice a human being for the purpose of fertilizing the crops. He is seized by violence or intoxicated and taken to the field of wheat crop among which he is slain for the purpose of serving as "seed". After his blood has coagulated in the Sun, it is burned along with the frontal bone, the flesh attached to it, and the brain, the ashes are then scattered over the ground to fertilise it".⁴

The next point in the two preceding Dusun myths that attracts our notice is the growth of various kinds of plants from the different limbs of the slain girl child. Now the question arises how has this idea of plants growing from different members of the human body arisen:—

The answer to this question is not far to seek. It is the cardinal doctrine of savage Philosophy that the souls of dead men and, for the matter of that, the different parts of the bodies of dead persons may grow up into trees or blossom forth as flowers. This conception is common in folk-lore and in poetry. In the Bengali tale of the "Seven Champa Brothers", the souls of the seven dead brothers grow up into seven *Champā* trees and that of the girl springs up into a *pārul* creeper. Based on this belief is the pretty poetical concept of flowers springing up from the graves or ashes of buried lovers, of which an instance occurs in the ballad of "Fair Margaret and Sweet William".

In the story of Tristram and Ysonde, an eglantine springs up from the grave of Tristram

⁴ Op. cit, p. 433.

and winds its arms about the image of the fair Ysonde. The great bard of Avon has immortalized this concept in the words of Laertes over Ophelia :—

“Lay her i’ the earth,
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring”.

and Tennyson says :—

“And from his ashes may be made
The violet of his native land”.

The idea also occurs frequently in folk-tales, as will appear from the examples given by me in my article “On North Indian Folk-tales of the “*Rhea Sylvia*” and “*Juniper Tree*” Types published in “*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*”. Vol. LXXI, Part III. No. 1, (1902).

In the undermentioned folktales which are current among the Hos of Singbhum, the incident of flowers and trees growing out of the bodies of deceased persons and of the scrapings of the bodies of other individuals occurs :—

In the story entitled : *The Belbati Princess*, it is stated that, when Princess Belbati was thrown by the *Kāmār girl* into the well and was drowned a beautiful flower sprang-up from his body. This flower was subsequently found by the hero of the story and taken to his *Kāmār-Rānī*, the latter immediately recognised that it was the flower which had grown out of Princess Belbati’s corpse, and, therefore, tore it to pieces and threw them out into the palace-garden. From these fragments sprouted up young “bael” trees. ⁵

⁵ *Folklore, of the Santal Parganas* by C. H. Bompas, London. David Nutt. 1909 p. 463.

Then again, in the story entitled. *The Sons of the Rāvan Rājā*, the aforementioned incident occurred in this way, namely, when the boys stating themselves to be the sons of Rāvan Rājā, were killed by the latter's enemy, two bamboos grew out of the place where their bodies lay. From these bamboos a Jogi made two flutes which produced beautiful musics. When the Jogi took these flutes to the Rāvan Rājā, they burst open and from them came out the two boys who had been killed and whom the Rājā recognised as his sons. (6)

Then again, when, in the story entitled: *The Mongoose Boy*, the hero of the story (The Mongoose Boy) was killed by his step-brothers, and buried, there grew up from his body in the grave a bamboo of extraordinary size and a bush bearing beautiful and fragrant flowers. When the Rājā, of this place who was the father of the Mongoose Boy, cut this bamboo down, there came out of it the boy who related his own life-story to his father and was immediately recognised by him. (7)

Next, in the story entitled: "*The Wonderful Cowherd*" it is stated that when the seven princesses went to bathe in a tank, they put the scrapings of their bodies in a hole in the ground. From these scrapings grew up a tree. (8)

Then again, in the story entitled—"The origin of the Sabai grass" the aforementioned

(6) *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73.

(7) *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

(8) *Op. cit.*, p. 474.

incident occurred in the following way: when the heroine's five brothers, who had killed her, became repentant and was pardoned by her (who had, in the meantime, been restored to life), they knelt down and beat the ground with their hands out of sheer shame, whereupon the earth opened up and swallowed them leaving only their hairs projecting out of the ground. *From their hairs grew up the Sābai grass.* ⁽⁹⁾ The same incident also occurs, in a modified form, in the Santal variant named—*How the Sābai grass grew.* ⁽¹⁰⁾

There remains one more point to be noticed. In both the Dusun myths, it is stated that from the head of the slain girl-child, grew the Cocoanut upon which her nose and eyes can be traced even at the present day. This idea is also traceable in the Malay belief that the Cocoanut has eyes and therefore, will never fall on the head of a person passing beneath a Cocoanut tree. ⁽¹¹⁾

(9) *Op. cit.*, p. 467.

(10) *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

(11) Vide Burne's *Hand Book of Folklore*. Edition of 1914. p. 31.

IV. MUSTARD IN MAGIC AND RELIGION.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

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It is well known that mustard is considerably used in magic practices. The antiquity of these practices is beyond question and dates as far back as the *Atharva Veda*. There is a hymn in it (Av. viii. 6) which is recited to guard a pregnant woman from demons. Kans'itakī (8. 24) includes this hymn together with Av. ii. 2 and vi. iii into the category of *mātrināmāni*. It is also employed in the *sīmanta* rite (35. 20) in the eighth month of a woman's pregnancy, and an amulet is found as specified in the text (cf. vi. 20). This amulet is said to be that of white and yellow mustard, and the Ath. Paddh. seems to prescribe "a talisman in the form of a doll made of red and yellow mustard plants (¹)", and reaching from the woman's neck to her navel. AV. viii. 6 reads thus—"Let her maintain what is left (?); what is set let not that fall down; let the two formidable remedies, to be borne in under garment, defend thine embryo". The commentator paraphrases *parisrstam* by *homādiviniyogāvaś'istam sarsapad-vayam*. The two mustard seeds thus consecrated are therefore two formidable remedies protecting the embryo in the pregnant woman against the influence of demons. It was also used as a remedy against diseases which were either, or caused by,

¹ *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. viii. p. 494.

demons, spirits etc. Kaus'itakī (30. 1) quotes a hymn (Av. vi. 16) recited in a healing rite, performed to cure disease of the eyes, accompanied by the various use of mustard plant. The first hymn under vi. 16 is unintelligible. The commentator in deriving *abayu* understands mustard to be addressed.

If the idea was that mustard could protect life, perhaps in later times it was credited with the power of bringing back the dead to life if magical rites were duly performed in that behalf. It seems that such rites were actually resorted to. In the *Brahmajāla sutta—atthakathā vetālam* is explained — “*ghaṇatālam mantena matasarīrutthāpanam*”, i. e. bringing dead bodies to life by spells. It appears that the idea that the dead could be restored to life (e. g. by *vetālam*) widely prevailed during the time of the Buddha. It is abundantly clear from the *Vinaya* that the Buddha showed due regard for popular superstition, and he utilised it in his religious discourses. It is in agreement perhaps with this popular superstition that the dead could be brought back to life that the Buddha, when asked by Kisā Gotamī to find a medicine for her dead child, advised her to bring *white mustard seed*. She asks, “*Kim laddhum vaṭṭatīti* (what should I bring to you)”. The Lord says: “*Accharagahaṇamastam siddhatthakam laddhum vaṭṭatīti* (Bring me a handful of white mustard seeds)”. ²

². *Dhammapada-atthakathā*—Kisā Gotamī-Vatthu-Vol. II. (P. T. S.), p. 273, Dhāp VIII-13 114.

The practice of protecting babes from evil influence by fumigating the lying-in room with the smoke caused by burning mustard seeds is alluded to in *Kamārapetavatthu* in the *Petavatthu-atthakathā* (III. 5). Even the rite of *sāsapanhupanam* was not performed for the poor babe in the tale. The commentator explains *sāsapadhūpanam* thus : *Yam jātussa dārakassa rakghanatthāya sāsapena dhupanama karonti tam pi tassa karonta nāhesum*, i. e. nobody made for him that smoke with mustard seed which is caused for the protection of new-born babes." As a cosmetic, powdered mustard seed ³ and mustard paste ⁴ were used by ladies for the face, whether as a mere beautifier or the idea of protection was inherent in it I cannot say.

White mustard was used in auspicious ceremonies. We read in the *Kalpasūtra*, ⁵ a Jain book, "that interpreters of dreams.....put for the sake of auspiciousness white mustard and *durvā* grass on their heads".

In the *anupanisadlikam adhikaraṇam* of Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* we read : "*Raktas'vetasarsapair godhātripīksamustikāyam bhūman nikhātāyām nihitā badhyenoddhṛtā yāvat paś'yati tāvan mārāyati*" "(Translation: No sooner does a person condemned to death pull out from the earth an alligator or iguana (*godhā*) which, with three or five hand-

³ Jataka V. 302, sasapakakku.

⁴ Jataka VI. 232.

⁵ *Kalpasūtra* by Jacobi, S. B. E. Vol. XXII., p. 245.

fuls of both red and white mustard seeds, is entered into the earth than he dies at its sight".⁶

Mention is made of several other applications of mustard as a means to injure an enemy; such as :

Mālyena caikapatnyagrim pums'calyagrim ca sarsapaih. (p. 414).

It was largely used in contrivances for producing wonderful and delusive appearances as mentioned by Kautilya in *Prakaranam* — "*Pralambhane adbhutotpadanam*" which I need not detail here. In the *Samhitās* too we find it used in offering *homa* or in other religious rites. S'loka 17. ch. II of the *S'atātāpa Samhitā* alludes to the performance of the tenth part of the *homa* with mustard. In *Yājñavalkya Samhitā* the use of white mustard seed (*ganra sarsapa*) is indicated in s'lokas, 277, 278 and 290, ch. 1. S'lokas 12-14 of the same *Samhitā* and s'loka 13, ch. 26 of the *Kātyāyana samhita* may also be referred to.

Thus we find that even in very ancient times the use of mustard in magic and religion was widely prevalent. It is not thus confined to superstitious people of modern times.

A very interesting and long list of prescriptions for compelling the love of her husband and making her co-wife a slave to her is given by Līlāvati to Lahanā in *Kavikankan Chandī* by the renowned Bengali poet, Mukundaram Chakravarti. One of the contrivances was :

⁶ K. As.—p. 413; Translation—p. 499.

Rāi sarisā bhājibe s'as'ārara taile !

Ghr̥tera pradīpa jvālī bhuñja kutuhale !!

(Translation—Fry mustard seed in the oil of s'as'āru (an animal), light a ghee lamp and eat merily).

White mustard seed (*siddhārta*) forms one of the several auspicious things placed on the *varanadālā* (skt. *pras'asti-pātra*) used in religious and quasi-religious rites.

The Bengali mother prepares for the new babe a pillow of mustard seeds evidently as a charm against the evil eye or evil spirits. Exorcists in Bengal and North India extensively use it against spooks (cf. *sarse pāde* in Bengal). Ghosts or spirits cannot transcend the magic circle described with mustard seeds. When corpses are taken to the cemetery or the crematorium, the halting places are circumscribed with mustard seed to prevent the ghost from going back to the house where the person died. The *Silārī* or the professional hail-avertter of Mymensingh (East Bengal) uses it as a charm against the malignant demon of the storm. ⁷ Dr. Crooke gives several instances of mustard seed as a scarer of demons and as a charm against the evil eye. ⁸

In St. Matthew (13-31, 32) "the kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed" which "when it is grown is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree etc." Is there any significance in it. ?

⁷ *Man in India*. Vol. III. (Sep. & Dec., 1923).

⁸ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore in Northern India* (Allahabad Edition), pp. 170, 171, 198 & 200.

V. PSEUDO RAJPUTS.

(The Polias, Palias, Babu Polias or Rajbansis of North Bengal. An instance of the formation of tribes into Castes).

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

1

The gradual and insensible transformation of tribes into castes, has been going on from very early times—but the stages of operation have long slipped from our notice owing to our callousness and imperfect record. But history repeats itself, and we find the same forces at work, the same successive stages of transformation going on, the same insensible adaptation to environments and physical needs and the same motive leading to the same consequences. In all matters of caste formation and caste groupings, the one predominant factor that counts and determines the motive to such a transformation is fiction, as has been suggested by Sir H. H. Risley, but the processes involved are many and varied and are to some extent independent of one another. "So far as my observation goes," writes Sir Herbert Risley, "several distinct processes are involved in the movement and these proceed independently in different places and at different times". He describes four processes by which the transformation is effected and they may be stated thus in his own words. (1) The leading men of an aboriginal tribe having somehow got on in

the world and become independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the more distinguished castes. They usually set up as Rajputs, their first step being to start a Brahman priest who invents for him a pedigree hitherto unknown. (2) A number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnavas, Lingayats, Ramayats, etc (3) A whole tribe of aborigines or a large section of a tribe enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism, under the style of a new caste which though claiming an origin of remote antiquity is readily distinguishable by its name. (4) A whole tribe of aborigines or a section thereof, become gradually converted to Hinduism without abandoning their tribal designation. *To these four processes may be added a fifth in which an individual member of an aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribe adopts a surname and a gotra of a particular caste, manages to enrol himself as a member of that particular caste and gradually intermarries with the members of that caste. His wealth and influence attract members of the caste he aspires to belong and thus in the long run establish him as a permanent member of that caste. This practice is being commonly adopted in the outlying parts of Bengal and Assam.*

Before we proceed to discuss the complicated processes involved in the transformation of tribes into castes, it must be pointed out at the outset

that the tendency of the aboriginal people with a progressively wide outlook of better life and higher social status is to foster a partiality for Hinduism. All aboriginal people are to some extent animists. Their conceptions about religion are even now crude and in many cases nebulous. But, however much we may deny it, the conception of a Supreme God is not foreign to the tribal population. Competent field anthropologists in analysing the the religious conceptions of backward people have long admitted that every society, however crude it may be, has certain notions regarding a Power which is the cause of all things and from which all lesser powers emanate and to whom all powers or spirits are subordinate. This conception of a Supreme God has been found to be working amongst all tribal people of India. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, has tried to show that all Kolans believe in a Supreme Power, call it god or spirit as you please, whether "the conception of a supreme god ruling over the universe and over the other gods and spirits has been suggested by the spectacle of the Sun reigning supreme in the sky and dispersing darkness and its terrors and bringing light and its blessings to the earth", ¹ as amongst the Oraons, is a question for the psycho-Anthropologists to answer. Besides this Supreme God, the existence of spiritual and semi-spiritual personel beings, unembodied spirits and disembodied souls are implicitly believed in by the

¹ 'The Gods of the Oraons' by R. B. S. C. Roy, '*Man in India*' vol. II, No. 3, 1922.

tribal people and this belief is so strong amongst them that even Christianity could not eradicate animistic habits of thought from the minds of the aboriginal converts. Christianity or Islam does not encourage multiple worship; on the other hand, it enjoins all its adherents to follow strictly the tenets of the faith. It is only Hinduism which is flexible, adaptive and allows a wide latitude to the religious susceptibilities of the people and consequently it is Hinduism which attracts the tribal people most.

It has been said above that in all stages of transformation, fiction plays an important part, and so indeed it does. Whenever possible, the fashion with the aboriginal tribes is to claim descent from the Kshatriyas; some call them Pseudo Rajputs ('Bhanga Kshatriyas')—some style them as genuine Kshatriyas with a mythical antecedent. Kshatriyas belong to the second order of Hindu caste system. The fourfold division of caste is an institution practically unknown in Bengal. In Bengal (East Bengal, at any rate) we have only two divisions of the caste system e. g. the Brahman and the Kayasthas. The Kshatriyas and the Sudras are practically unknown here. The distinction between the Kayasthas and the so-called Sudras, a where they exist, is more apparent than real and intermarriage between them is a rule and not an exception. The order of Kshatriyas is found in its pristine form in Northern India, the so-called Aryandom—and curious it is that in all transformation of tribes into castes, in Bengal, the

simplest device acted upon is to claim descent from these Kshatriyas. Of course, the advantages of claiming descent from the Kshatriyas are many, first the isolation of the latter in Northern India and the distance separating them from the tribal people of Bengal preclude the possibility of actually testing or verifying the truth of the claim put forward. Secondly, there are so many families of Kshatriyas and so varied are the names of these families that it is practically impossible to decipher with any degree of certainty, what part of the country and what family the aspiring members belong to. Nor do the people of the locality take any notice of such got up pedigrees, as they think that whether they are actually descended from Kshatriyas or not, they are sure to filtrate into a separate caste with no apparent or real connection with the present caste groupings. But time has proved otherwise: the so-called Kshatriyas in their anxiety to stand firm to their assumed right as Kshatriyas, for a time struggle hard to keep the show running, but nothing can ensure the got-up privileges and pretensions. They remain the same people with more straightened relations with their cultured neighbours; but time works; with the lapse of time people forget the original circumstances that led to the formation of the caste from the tribe, or they doubt the authenticity of their high pretensions but gradually allow these people to share their own manners, customs, mode of life etc. While the members of this new caste in their zeal for a higher social status adapt themselves to changing circumstances

and follow their cultured neighbours rather literally, engage Brāhman priests in all their indigenous ceremonies, worship and festivals, and take part in all the rites and ceremonies of their neighbours. History cites instances in which these people are more or less absorbed by the caste next to them in order, I mean the Kāyasthas.

Well, it may be said again, that the second order of caste system, I mean the Kshatriya order is an unknown institution in Bengal. And in all questions of social origins, it has proved to be a trump card. Whenever a particular section of a people of low social standing, desire to elevate themselves to a higher stage of social life the one device taken recourse to, is to set themselves up as Kshatriyas, engage a Brāhman priest who invents for them a pedigree which might be thirtieth or fortieth remove from the present generation and *in the long run precipitate into an order next to that they pose to belong.* As an instance in point may be cited, the case of the Haihais of Mymensingh and the foot of the Garo hills. The Haihais are a Mongoloid or a Semi-Mongoloid tribe in the process of forming a new caste. Recently they have engaged the services of Brāhman priests, who have invented for them a pedigree that they are the descendants of the Haihai family of Kshatriyas of Northern India, have given them sacred thread to wear and are now a caste by themselves. Of course, whether they will be absorbed by the Kāyasthas in the long run is too early to be predicted but experience

has shown that such a consequence is neither unlikely nor unprecedented. The processes of transformation of tribes into castes have been described in the foregoing words by Sir Edward Gait in the Census Report of 1911: "An aboriginal tribe in an environment where Hindu influences are strong, comes gradually and half unconsciously to adopt ideas and prejudices, to take part in Hindu festivals to attend at Hindu temples and to pay a certain amount or homage to the Brahmins. Some degraded member of the priestly caste, or perhaps some Vaishnava Gossain in search of a livelihood, becomes their spiritual guide and as time goes on, the difference between them and their Hindu neighbours, in respect of their social customs and outward religious observances, becomes less and less marked, until at last they are regarded by themselves and their neighbours as regular Hindus. The change takes place so slowly and insidiously that no one is conscious of it. There is no formal abandonment of one ritual for another. Sometimes it happens that a tribe is thus divided into two sections, the one Hinduised, the other styled Animistic. Such less open proselytisation often takes place among the unregenerate. The theory seems to be that the latter have lapsed from a higher state, and the Hinduised section of their community—make no difficulty in admitting them after they have performed such ceremonies of purification as may be prescribed by their spiritual preceptors".

I cannot here restrain the temptation of making

only a passing reference to the sacred thread movement of Bengal which is gradually gaining ground. Besides, the backward, aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes who have begun to adopt the sacred thread as a step to the attainment of a social recognition which, as men, they are rightly entitled to, the great bulk of the other castes including the higher ones, of course other than the Brāhmans, have taken to the sacred thread as the only insignia of caste distinction. A Brāhman from the very fact that he is born in the family of a Brāhman is entitled to the sacred thread, whether or not he discharges the prescribed functions of the caste he has the privilege to belong. A Vaidya who claims a mixed descent has taken to the sacred thread as a matter of right, he being descended from a Brāhman father and a Sudra mother. The adoption of the sacred thread by a Kāyastha may be attributed to a reaction,—a reaction against the long-standing persecution, tyranny and excesses of the priestly or sacerdotal caste, whom sooner or later they are expected to thwart. The case of the Namasudras, Kaibartas, etc. is a bit different, theirs is a struggle for existence, they are surrounded on all sides by caste people who tyrannise over them in all social matters, they are avoided by the caste men as Pariahs and out-castes and naturally enough they claim descent from the Kshatriyas, to avoid to some extent the excesses of their neighbours. To add to all these, there are the barbers, the most cunning of all artisan classes, who have formed into brotherhoods with

fictitious claims to high parentage and justifying their conduct by wearing the sacred thread: for example, the barbers of Dinajpur and Rungpore. The method of adopting the sacred thread is very simple and commendable. A '*Homa*' or sacrifice is made by a Brāhman, the expenses of which are borne by the people themselves and each member has to pay a *dakshina* to the Brāhman, in exchange of which the Brāhman puts on him a sacred thread.

Another factor that weighs heavily in all matters of social transformation or reformation, is the poverty of the priestly caste. It is this poverty which is at the root of many social upheavals. A certain amount of money or a small area of rent free land proves an effective allurements for the needy or the destitute to sacrifice their conscience and invent fictitious pedigrees for the aspirants to high social status; of course, with the consequence of subjecting themselves to social persecution and ostracism, which eventually lead to social degradation. But the compensation in coin and kink is sufficient to call forth this sacrifice on the part of the priest. I cannot but relate here an interesting anecdote in this connection which of course has some bearing on the point. During my ethnographic tour in Kolhan in Singbhum, I happened to pass one night in the house of an educated Ho, near about Chaibassa. It was a Saturday, and the Ho gentleman wanted to worship the planet Saturn in imitation of his Dikku neighbours. The priest was called in

and when the priest was just entering the room, the writer noticed the man. Now it is regarded as something unusual for a Hindu priest to officiate in the house of a Kol, for if he is detected, the priest is sure to be excommunicated by his caste men. This priest was serving there by stealth and as soon as he noticed the writer's presence, he got puzzled, and when he further discovered that it was a Hindu present there, he became extremely nervous. The writer, of course, understood his position and assured him that he would be the last person to give it publicity and he might proceed with his business as usual. The man knelt down with folded palms, began to entreat mercy in the most pitiful manner and, repeated assurances having been given, got into the house to officiate as the priest. Now it was poverty alone that drove this man to adopt a course which to his brother professionalists would seem heinous.

As regards the transformation of tribes into sectarian castes it might be said that neither of the existing sects offers any attraction to the tribal population and consequently the tendency of the aboriginal people to join these sects is necessarily poor. Lingayats, Ramayats and Vaishnavies are the three popular sects in India and some of these sects claim a decent number of votaries. The Lingayats of Bombay and Southern India number roughly 3,000,000 adherents. The members of these sects are now reverting to Hindu society and it is expected that they

will sooner or later be absorbed in Hindu society. ¹

2

According to the Census Report of 1921, (vol. v p. 358) the total number of Rajbansis is 1,727,111 of whom 1530,712 or 88·6 p. c are to be found in Dinajpore, Rungpur, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar. The report adds that the, 'total number has decreased by 4·5 p. c. since 1911 and 9·0 percent since 1901 and a decrease has undoubtedly taken place, but it has been exaggerated by the fact that a number of fisherman caste, especially in Mymensingh, Nadia and Murshidabad returned themselves as Rajbansis at former censuses who were not permitted to do so at this. In 1901, moreover many Kochs in North Bengal were returned as Rajbansis'. Apart from the facts revealed in the Census Reports, this apparent decrease in population may be due to a variation in fecundity, for there are reasons to believe that fecundity decreases with altered condition of life. The tribal life is being discarded by the people with the progressive expectation of better life; artificiality has increased; the enrolment of the whole tribe in the ranks of Hinduism has wrought some affectation in diet and customs. Thus it is not improbable that fecundity has to some extent suffered a setback which may be temporary and which a later computation may rectify.

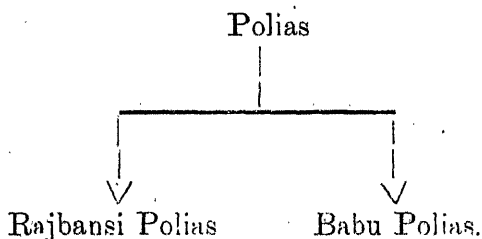
Polias. Babu polias, Paliyas or Rajbansis are the different appellations by which the tribal

¹ *People of India*, Risley.

population of Dinajpore, Rungpore, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar are known. The word Polia is according to the avowal of the people themselves, a variant of the Sanskrit "पलातक" which means run-aways. Tradition has it that the Polias were once Kshatriyas who fled from their original settlements to avoid the wrath of Parasuram, who was the avowed enemy of the Kshatriyas. They call themselves 'Bhaga Kshatriyas' and wear the sacred thread in support of their claim. Again, in some quarters, it is believed that the occupation of the present settlements by the Polias dates back to the time of 'Kalapāhar'—that relentless conqueror whose inroads into the original home of the Polias made it too hot for them to remain there. The Babu Polias are lower in the estimation of the Polias, for the former have not taken up the sacred thread and have not given up pork-eating which according to the latter is an efficiency bar to higher claims. A Polia would speak of a Babu Polia in the most contemptuous terms, would shrug his shoulders when he meets him, as if the latter were worse than a pariah. The taking of pig's flesh is indigenous with the Babu Polias—they have brought this custom along with them from their original home or have developed this in their own way. That this practice could not have been borrowed from their cultured neighbours, is more than certain. The Hindus look upon the pig with great abhorrence and its mere touch entails the need for purification by a bath. The very name of a pig is revolting to a Musalman he has nothing to do with it,

the name itself is an insult to a Musalman. However, the Babu Polias also claim to be Kshatriyas; there are Babu Polias who are being converted into Polias by their adoption of the sacred thread and abstention from animal diet, but this practice is being suppressed by the Polias whenever possible. The Polias deny any relationship, congenital or varietal, with the Babu Polias; to an unbiassed mind there is nothing in the physical features of the people to distinguish between the two. A Polia resembles a Babu Polia as much as a Sonthal does a Sonthal; it is only in some of their customs that the one differs to some extent from the other. One of the reasons why a Polia refuses to extend the same status to his kinsman and compatriot, may be sought in the apparent disregard with which their cultured neighbours greet the tribal people of the locality. To a Hindu or a Musalman, this distinction between the two sections of the people—so jealously drawn, do not appeal. They talk of the Polias as lightly as the 'Babus' as if there were no apparent difference in the social scale between them. They call them Polias, Paliyas, Rajbansis or Babu Polias as it suits thier taste. The Polias take it ill—they have begun the campaign of reformation and they desire to be accepted as Hindus; the pig-rearing habit is looked down upon by them and they cannot bear any association of this practice with their tribal life and the slightest reference to this practice is a dishonour to their newly awakened consciousness and an infringement of their much

heeded prestige. The Polias call themselves Rāj-bansis or descendants of the Kshatriyas who were the ruling chiefs of India. They are often found to claim descent from Dasaratha, king of Ajodhya. As a matter of fact, the Polias are on a step higher in culture than the Babu Polias but all the same, it is highly probable if not certain that the Polias, Babu Polias and Rajbansis are of the same extraction and are now precipitating into different communities due to cultural disintegration. They may be classified thus,—



All Rajbansis are therefore Polias—they wear the sacred thread and imitate their cultured neighbours the Hindus in all matters. But all Babu Polias, although they are Polias, are not Rajbansi Polias and the latter most severely disown the Babu Polias. The claim of the Rajbansi Polias to a higher social status virtually due to their abstention from animal diet and adoption of the customs and practices of their cultured neighbours is being denied by the Babu Polias and they also are reforming themselves to share the status with their advanced kinsmen. They have taken up the sacred thread, and they also claim to be Kshatriyas. In some quarters they have openly abjured all animal diet and are even reasserting their claim

as genuine Polias. It has got to be seen how they are received by their quondom kinsmen and compatriots in the long run. Although the Polias claim to be Kshatriyas, they can be easily distinguished from the other Kshatriyas for the following obvious reason. All genuine Kshatriyas are exogamous as regards the 'gotras' and endogamous as regards the caste. Each caste is divided into a number of *gotras* and marriage is forbidden between the members of the same *gotra*. This is the inviolable rule in all tribes and castes. The members of the same *gotra* believe that they are descended from one common ancestor and blood relationship forbids them to intermarry between themselves. This the Polias have not thought over and they have all taken up one common 'gotra' that is *Kashyap* but at the same time they do intermarry among themselves, except within the prohibited degrees of relationship. Some 14 or 15 years ago, there was an agitation amongst them, as to their social status, when they all adopted the 'काश्यप गोत्र'—*Kashyap gotra*. Before that time, they had no 'gotra' at all or if they had any they knew nothing about it. There is another custom in which they differ from other caste groups. This is the Nika system of marriage. This is perhaps a result of culture contact and borrowing. The Nika system is unknown among the caste groups. It is only the Mohomedans who practise Nika—and it is probable that they have borrowed this custom from their Mohomedan neighbours. Not only do they allow the Nika but

they are very fond of this form of marriage. The use of a special term to denote 'step father', namely 'dhokerbap' establishes beyond doubt the popularity of this form of marriage. Not only do the Polias marry widows without encumbrances but they also marry widows with children and the children call their step-father, "dhokerbap" and the step-father addresses them as "dhoker choa".

A Polia seldom utters his father's name; however he may be persuaded, he will always avoid his father's name and any question regarding the identity of his father very easily exasperates him. Often he gives out that he is too young to remember the name although he may be aged forty or more. We know that a savage refuses to utter his personal name or that of his father fearing lest he or his father may be harmed by sorcerers—and in all primitive societies personal name as well as names that may give some clue to the identity of a man are strictly tabued. A Polia also will not speak out his name but if he is required to do so under compulsion, he takes a round-about way to it; he smiles and says that he is too young to have a name or that he is too humble a wight to possess any personal name, and only repeated threats can elicit an answer to the point. As regards the Polia's dislike to utter his father's name it may be suggested, that the popularity of the Nika form of marriage is responsible to a large extent. In many cases a Polia lives with his stepfather or 'dhokerbap' but refuses to admit this. Another

reason there may be, and I am told that it is the generally accepted one amongst the cultured people of the locality, namely, that a Polia is very anxious to pose as a Kshatriya and use the surname of 'Singh' or 'Barma' which in essence are Kshatriya surnames. It is only the latter-day Polias who use this surname, their fathers or forefathers used and still use the unpretentious surname of 'Polia'—which of course is much resented by the present generation.

When a Polia is asked to state his age, he feigns a colossal ignorance. This has often been attributed to his inadequate knowledge of number. A man of fifty or more, when asked as to his age, will generally retort that he is a mere child and his age is between five to ten years. This also he will seldom speak out, for the practice with him is to keep silent and request the enquirer to ascertain it. If the enquirer makes a suggestion as to his approximate age, he will at once refute him saying that a 'child' of his age can never be so old. This is not the case with his own age alone—he will avoid all enquiries regarding age, be it of his wife, son or anybody of his house. In some cases, he gives out that his wife is 10 to 15 years older than himself—even if his wife is much younger than him. When it is brought to his notice, he only smiles and retracts his words saying that it was a miscalculation. But wives are often older than their husbands and I have known Polias whose stepsons are of the same age as, if not older than, himself. It may sound

absurd but it is a fact, and in some cases as we know, fact is stranger than fiction. This practice of feigning complete ignorance, as to age, is probably due to a tabu and may be compared to the primitive man's dread that he may be in the hands of a sorcerer who can put an end to his life. As a matter of fact, the Polias live in constant dread of witches and sorcerors, who they say, are always lying in wait to pounce upon them whenever they are off their guard. A Polia constructs his hut in such a way as to leave no door or window, save and except a small opening which serves as an entrance. This also is seldom left open, as he is afraid lest some evil spirit, a witch, sorcerer or any miscreant may get into the hut and effect injuries to his own person or those of his family members. In cases of disease and epidemic, every family erects a vertical post in the courtyard, overlooking the eaves of the huts, on the top of which, the Polias tie up all cast-off things, rags, broken earthen utensils, broomsticks, winnowing fans, etc, which may possess the power of scaring away evil or malignant spirits. The custom is to procure these cast off things by stealing them from the houses of their neighbours and the anxiety of the people to avoid such thefts is phenomenal. Every village has a number of medicine-men or 'māhats', who are reputed to be well versed in spirit-lore and to whom the Polias look up for help in their agrarian and domestic troubles as well as natural calamities. The Polias seldom call in

physicians to attend cases of illness. As all diseases are ascribed to the influence, direct or indirect, of spirits who are on the look out for man's failings, it is the medicine-men who are more fitted to help the people materially by inventing charms against the malignant power or powers. Every village has a headman, who is called the Deonia, who is the accredited leader of public opinion. No where is the Deonia so implicitly obeyed and respected as in the Polia tract. In all matters domestic, communal, legal or religious, the Deonia is the highest living authority and his will is the guiding force of the community. To the credit of the Deonias it might be said that they seldom abuse or misuse their influence but lead and direct the villagers in all matters to the best of their information and knowledge. The Deonia is generally an elder of the village elected by the people. At present there is a tendency amongst them to elect a Deonia who has some experience in legal affairs' i. e. who is a confirmed litigant. This perhaps is due to the growing habit of litigation amongst the present-day Polias. Besides the village Deonia, each family has a Deonia, of its own who is the supreme authority in all matters concerning the family. But his will is subordinate to that of the village Deonia. The eldest member of the family is not necessarily the Deonia of the house—as the latter is selected more for his intelligence and activity than for his age. In many of the houses I could find that the youngest brother was the Deonia and the elder ones had no voice in family affairs.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. NOTES ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE KURNOOL BONE CAVES.

The Billa Surgam caves in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency are to this day the only bone caves on record in India.

The only known bone caves in India. It is possible that other bone caves exist. But so far as Southern India is concerned, the formation of the country is such that natural caves are not to be found outside the limestone area of the district of Cuddapah and Kurnool. Elsewhere in Southern India the rocks are impervious to water and therefore contain no caves. A few rock shelters exist but the conditions are such that no bones could have been preserved in them.

The caves were discovered to be fossiliferous by Captain Newbold in 1844. Forty years later Bruce Foote explored them carefully. Their history. He found quantities of fossils but no human remains and no stone implements. The caves are nevertheless of high importance to students of man in India because among the fossil bones Bruce Foote found pendants made of teeth and a number of cut bones which he believed were implements of the Magdalenian type. There is no record of objects of similar type having been found anywhere else in India. Unfortunately, the finds

were never properly described and by mischance they have all been lost. Another forty years have passed and no body has as yet attempted to further the work commenced by Bruce Foote.

The inaccessibility of the bone caves was perhaps the main reason why further exploration has not been undertaken. But that

Caves easily inaccessible no longer exists.
accessible. A railway line runs now within three miles of the caves. The

nearest railway station in Bethamcherla on the Guntakal-Bezwada branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A rough cart track leads eastwards from the station to a petty jungle village named Kottala and the caves are about half a mile to the south east of the village (sheet 57 1/3 of the map published in 1923 by the Survey of India—scale 1"—1 mile).

However familiar the name Bilia Surgam may be to those who take interest in Indian prehistory, the name is unknown in the district and the very existence of the cave is hardly known outside the limits of Kottala. In Kottala the caves are called Baljivargam Gavi by some and Baljigam Vanka by others. *Gavi* in the local dialect means a cave and *vanka* means a water-course and has reference to the stream issuing from the caves. Baljivargam and Baljigam seem to be corrupt variants of Billa Surgam which itself is compounded of the Telugu word *billam* meaning a cave and the Sanskrit *suranga* which also means cave.

The caves are in limestone rock stratified horizon-

tally in loose flag-like beds. As a result of this loose horizontal stratification the roofs of caverns formed in the coming canyons. rock have a tendency to fall in while the walls become vertical. This tendency is specially marked near the entrances of the caverns where loosening of slabs from the roof proceeds quicker than in the inner depths. Gradually the entrances to the caverns have risen higher and higher until finally the roofs have collapsed altogether leaving what Bruce Foote has described as "deep but very short canyons".

The entrance to these canyons was obviously once the entrance to the caves themselves. The stalactites adhering to the walls These have really of the canyons and the character not been explored the debris that litters the floors ed. leave no doubt on this point.

For some reason difficult to understand Bruce Foote did not explore the original entrances of the caves but starting at the present day entrances excavated inward.

The failure of Bruce Foote to find human bones in stone implements in the caves and the anomalies he noticed in the fossils, Consequences of specially the total absence of the this omission. crania of animals of which numerous jawbones were found, as also the fact that over one-third of the bones found had been gnawed by porcupines, all seem to indicate that the portions he explored, were once the dark, deep and shallow interiors of the caves,

the home of porcupines, who dragged bones to their lairs; and that human beings had had no access to those deeper parts of the caves.

The occurrence of teeth pendants and of cut bones in the part of the caves explored by Bruce

Footo offers no difficulty in the light of what Bruce Footo has himself stated in his later writings.

Stray object. In the first enthusiasm of his discovery he claimed to have found no less than 1700 bones bearing marks of sawing and cutting, and though he confessed that most of them were of unintelligible shapes he maintained that at least 200 "seemed" to be arrow heads, spear heads, javeline heads and so on. It was only after Lydekker, the palæontologist, had expressed the opinion that the marks on the bones were due to the teeth of porcupine that he began to change his view. Ultimately, Bruce Footo admitted that "the many remarkable shapes" of the bones he found were due to the gnawings of the porcupines that had infested the caves (p. 119 *South Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*) and that as regards man's handiwork he had found only "a trace" of a Magdalenian settlement consisting of "a very few" carved bones and teeth pendants. (pp. 38 and 191 *Ibid*). It is quite possible, therefore, that the few small artifacts discovered by Bruce Footo among the fossil bones of the cave floors had found their way there by accident in the same way as must have happened in regard to the scattered bits of charcoal that he found in or

about the same level as the bones without any traces of burnt earth being discoverable.

The explanation I have given for the state of things found by Bruce Foote inside the caves may or may not be correct. But

Where exploration should begin. there can be no doubt that the proper place to explore is not the deep interior of the caves so much as the vestibule and the original entrance indicated by the beginning of the canyon leading up to the present mouth of the caves. This, the most promising part, has not been explored by any one up to now.

The exploration I have suggested of the floors of canyons is a task not to be undertaken lightly.

A large quantity of earth was
Difficulties to be excavated by Bruce Foote from
surmounted. the interior of the caves and
dumped in the canyons. This
earth will first have to be removed. The removal
of quantities of rock that fell when the roof at
the entrance of the caves collapsed, will be even
more trouble-some than the dumps. After that
it may be necessary to dig many feet down be-
fore reaching the fossiliferous floor as happened
inside the caves. It may also similarly be found
that the old floor has been sealed by a thick
bed of limestone formed by the drippings from
the roof.

In spite of the time and expense that any
attempt to explore the entrance to the caves will
involve I would very strongly
A promising field. recommend exploration. It is
true that the finds made by

Bruce Foote in the caves have been seen by no expert. But it matters little what exact type of tools Bruce Foote found because the probabilities are that the Billa Surgam caves have been inhabited by man from the very earliest times. Implements of the drift and other types have been found by Bruce Foote within a mile of the caves. Quite lately I have found in this district a series of thick flake implements produced by skilful parallel flaking typical of the Mousterian period and, accompanied by a contemporaneous microlithic industry as also happened in Mousterian times. Further investigation will almost certainly establish the existence of similar implements in the vicinity of the caves. Neoliths also are to be found. The canyons at the mouths of the caves are therefore likely to yield important animal and human remains that will help to solve the question of the real age of implements of the drift and other types to be found in India.

In addition to the exploration of the canyons leading to the caves I would suggest the exploration of some large outlets that
Cave outlets. exist at a considerably higher level than the present floor of the caves. There outlets seem to have been ancient water courses. I am not in a position to state their history. But if any portion of their ancient floors have survived they might be of greater antiquity than the main floors of the caves.

There are a number of other caves in the same limestone formation both to the north and

Neighbouring
caves.

to the south of the Billa Surgam
that also merit exploration.
Bruce Foote was of opinion, and I
fully agree with him, that the caves

at Bugganipalli are even more promising than the
Billa Surgam caves. These caves are about three
miles to the north-east of the railway station at
Bethamcherla. They have the advantage of being
near a perennial spring on the banks of the main
stream draining this area.

Besides the existing caves there are in this
same area traces of other caves
and canyons. that have collapsed. A collapsed
cave might have preserved better
than the others evidence of early man in this
country.

Postscript.

There is still a possibility of tracing the bone
implements found by Bruce Foote. About 1906
when Logan was writing his "*Old Chipped Stones
of India*" he attempted to trace the further history
of the implements. He wrote to Bruce Foote and
inquired at the British Museum. All he could
then learn was that the finds had been sent to
a European scientist for examination and that all
allusion to them in the records of the Survey
Department ended there. But apparently this in-
formation was wrong, because a little later, probably
about 1908 when Bruce Foote was arranging and
cataloguing his specimens which are now in the
Government Museum at Madras, he discovered that the

box containing the bone implements had by oversight never been despatched. I copy in full what he says on this point because the passage is not very explicit and should be read with the context:—

“A possible exception to the above conclusion (absence of evidence for subdividing the palæolithic period in Southern India) may be established by recognizing the occurrence of a trace of a Magdalenian settlement in the Billa Surgam cave in Kurnool District. This trace consists of a very few carved bones and teeth which were found by my son Lieut. (now Lieutenant Colonel) H. B. Foote, R. A., when he took my place and completed the exploration of the bone cave in 1884. These got accidentally mislaid for several years and have yet to be described and figured in the records of the Geological Survey of India. It was only quite lately that their Magdalenian character struck me, when I looked at them after finding the missing box”. (*Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities* p. 38).

In reply to my inquiry the Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum was unable to give any information as to what has become of the contents of the box rediscovered by Bruce Foote. I am now writing to the Geological Survey of India.

L. A. CAMMIADÉ, Bar-at-law,
Collector of Kurnool District.

II. THE FUTURE OF ANTHROPOLOGY. *

Evolution, in the sense that it is progress towards the goal, is certainly a good thing; and Anthropology being the science relating to it is of primary concern to man. But how far has Anthropology helped mankind; and on the lines it is being understood and discussed how far it is likely to help, are painfully doubtful problems. May I suggest in all humility that the object of Anthropology ought not to be merely to depict the past or describe the present; to relate what kind of men live in Malabar, or what sort of dress the women in Nilgris wear, or what the social customs among the Nepalese are, or what the historic importance of Vijayanagaram is. Anthropology ought to aim at some thing higher.

The highest conceivable stage in the evolution of man is limitlessness in space and time. And the endeavour of the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress should be to point out that goal and show the path whereby mankind could reach it. By limitlessness in space I don't mean that all mankind must reduce itself into one single mass of flesh. I only mean that "Oneness" must be established, the feeling of space, the feeling that I am not *that thing*, that *that thing* is different from *me*, should vanish. When I say that time should be abolished, I don't mean that all watches and clocks should be destroyed. I only mean that permanence should be secured,

* This article was read at the 13th Indian Science Congress at Bombay, 1926.

that *change* (death) which marks time should be destroyed. In other words, the Universe must become changeless, eternal.

The questions often asked are how can "Oneness" be created how can death (Change) be overcome?

Oneness cannot be created by mere exhortations from pulpit, press or platform that all men are brothers, that man must love brother man, that he should treat others as he would treat himself and so on. That this could be of no avail, the present chaotic condition of the world will bear sufficient testimony. Neither can oneness be created by tying up all together by means of a rope. Oneness can be secured only by right connection—connection through functional dependence. Right connection implies that dependence must be mutual and the responsibility for seeing the function carried out is also mutual. Not only that, there must be equality—equality of comfort and dependence. And all these can be secured only by establishing a sort of 'caste system' which a recent American writer briefly sums up as "A system of social disposition which ensures functional connection together with interdependence that is both equally balanced and mutually responsible".

If the caste system to-day is not the one what the writer depicts it to be, let not the system stand accused of it. The fault lies not in the system but in the abuses that have gathered around it. Let me illustrate what I say. A diamond so long as it is kept properly and safely is bright and lustrous. But when it is burnt it is reduced to

charcoal. So too with the caste system which has long ceased to be the cementing factor between man and man. Its lustre is gone, and at present it stands accused by everybody.

India like every other nation is not evolving but is involving. She is going back from 'caste' no caste, from cosmos to chaos, from order to disorder. And I may here sound a note of warning that the function of the members of the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress is not to watch the life of India ebbing away from her as she is at present doing. It is their sacred duty to inject life into India by establishing functional dependence which was once the essence of the caste system. That is our only "Open Sesame".

Coming to the second question, viz., how time could be abolished; it has been pointed out, that it is break in continuity that marks time. To abolish time therefore change must be eliminated. We see that in the human organism continuity of function is preserved. Each organ performs only its function. Similarly if in any society every member performs his allotted function and does not encroach on his neighbours, the whole society will lead an undisturbed life of peace and tranquility. But just as a tooth or even a clog out of place throws the whole machinery out of gear so also when any unit in the social organism neglects its function or encroaches on other's it greatly disturbs the equilibrium of the society. And it is unnecessary to be told that such changes have been going on from time immemorial. No wonder

man has converted the cosmic Universe into a chaotic multiverse. To-day there is no harmony no co-operation, between man and man. The forces in the Universe are mutually antagonistic. But when the antagonistic forces are converted into forces tending in some definite direction, in other words, when the Universe is organised through functional connection, all inimical feelings between man and man will come to an end. Cares and anxieties, doubts and fears, all will vanish. Fight, assault, war, etc., will become a thing of the past. And consequently all sorts of undesirable changes such as death, old age and weakness will be greatly minimised. And when all the units in the Universe is thus linked together through functional dependence all forms of changes will disappear; the Universe will become limitless in time and space. And it is to this end that Anthropology ought to take us.

In India, now, Anthropology is taught only in the Calcutta University. But the members of the Anthropological section of the Science Congress should resolve whenever they meet to request every Indian University to have Anthropology as one of the branches of study in their Universities. Anthropology, so far, has been of little service; but if it should endeavour to guide man from the unorganised to the organised, from the uncivilised to the civilised from the gross man to the great God, *then* Anthropology is what is primarily needed and it will hold the position of the Queen of all Sciences and form the crowning

study of the academic curriculum, but not earlier.

In fact there is hardly any better hobby in existence than this and one that can be ridden with greater pleasure. It cannot of course be mastered in a day. At first the lessons will be grind. Then until they are well learnt they will be irksome; but when the fullness of knowledge and maturity of judgment are attained there is perhaps no keener sense of satisfaction which human beings can experience than that which is afforded by its study. Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to pleasantly occupy the whole life from early youth to full manhood and to be a matter of extreme solace in advanced old age.

S. SIVARAMAKRISHNA AIYAR,
(*Student.*)

III. THE LEVIRATE IN THE RAMAYAN. *

In this short note I wish to draw the attention of the students of ethnology to certain passages in the celebrated epic Ramayan. As far as I am aware no special notice of these passages has been taken by any one. It is well known that when Mārīcha was just going to breathe his last after being shot by Ram, he raised a false alarm indicating that Ram was in a great danger and very badly wanted some help from Lakshmana. Lakshmana understood that the cry for assistance was not genuine but had to go out of the cottage leaving Sītā alone, as she did not agree with Lakshmana in his interpretation of the alarm and very sharply reprimanded Lakshmana for his refusal to run to Rām's help whom Lakshmana knew to be quite invincible. Very strong language was used by Sītā when she found that Lakshmana was unwilling to go out, and the following lines are included among the utterances to Sītā to Lakshmana:—

सुदुष्टस्त्वं वने राक्षसेकोऽनुगच्छसि ।
मम हेतोः प्रतिच्छन्नः प्रयुक्तो भरतेनवा ॥
तन्न सिध्यति सौमित्रि तवापि भरतश्च वा ।
कथमिन्द्रीवरण्यासं रामं पद्मनिभेक्षणम् ॥
उपसंश्रित्य भर्तारं कामयेत् प्रयक् जनम् ॥

These lines may be translated as below:—

“Verily art thou a monster of wickedness, that
Rama repairing unto woods, thou hast, being

* This article was read at the 13th Indian Science Congress at Bombay, 1926.

lustful for me, followed him alone. Or hast thou been engaged by Bharata to act thus? But thine or Bharata's intention shall not be satisfied, O Saumitri! How shall I desire another man after serving the lotus-eyed Rāma of dark-blue hue as my husband"??

On reading these lines carefully the question that naturally arises is how could it have been possible for Sītā, a lady specially remarkable for her piety and simplicity to entertain such a sinister notion about the motive of the conduct of Lakshmana, her brother-in-law of spotless character and who had always adored Sītā like a mother and never given any the slightest indication of cherishing a lover's feeling towards her.

In an article contributed sometime ago to a Bengali Magazine I tried to establish that the polyandrous form of marriage between the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadi was not contrary to the custom of the family, and that the episodes by means of which attempts were made to justify this form of marriage were subsequent interpolations. There is no mention of polyandry in the Rāmāyana in which are, however, found evidences of the levirate form of marriage in societies comparatively less civilized. The family of Rāma represents the the most highly cultured society of the time. In this family certainly there are no positive signs of the custom of the levirate or of any polyandrous form of marriage, but it appears that the lines from the Rāmāyana quoted above can be explained well if we assume

that in the remote past the ancestors of Rāma practised the levirate form of marriage leaving a tradition behind them and that in the aspersions of Sītā against the character of Lakshmana she was only referring to this tradition.

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IV. THE "PHANTOM SHIP" IN THE ARABIAN SEA.

Of the many phenomena occurring in the sea, a hallucination known as the "phantom ship" is interesting and important, because of its baneful influence on the notoriously superstitious sailor. It is a legendary spectral ship, painted black, usually seen in stormy weather and implicitly believed by sailors to be the herald of shipwreck.

The belief may have originated from ships in distress seeing an actual vessel looming up the horizon and then flying past doing nothing to help the suffering mariners. When she had gone out of the focus, the sailors not believing that fellow-sailors could be so very callous, conclude it to be a phantom. Or perhaps the vision was unreal, the optical illusion being the mysterious result of changes in the conditions of light, atmosphere etc., obtaining on the high seas, during the disturbed weather.

The phantom ship is usually known as "the Flying Dutchman", a Dutch Vessel whose captain Vanderdecken was condemned for his sins to sweep the seas for ever. Like Ahasuerus the cobbler and Kartophilos the door keeper of Pontius Pilate, who because of their cruelty to Jesus are still tramping across the world, Vanderdecken and his crew are expiating the sins committed on the high seas, by trying eternally to round the Cape of Good hope or, according to another version, Cape Horn. It is indeed a gross libel on the

Dutch, though many Dutchmen were employed as skippers of the piratical vessels plying about in the Arabian sea under the Maharatta chief Conaji Angria. It is not however the Dutchman who is referred to in particular, since all foreign sailors,—foreign vessels had the habit of callously sailing past afflicted ones—were called Dutchmen by the English sailors.

Captain Frederick Marryat's (1792 to 1848) novel "*The Phantom Ship*" tells of Philip Vanderdecken's successful but disastrous search after his father the captain of the "Flying Dutchman". Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) in *Rokeby* ii, ii. says:—

"Then midst the war of sea and sky,
Top and top gallant hoisted high,
Full speed and crowed every sail,
The demon frigate braves the gale,
And well the drowned spectators know
The harbinger of wreck and woe".

In his note to the above, Scott says the demon frigate was originally a vessel laden with precious metals. A horrible murder was committed on board and plague broke out among the crew and no port would allow the vessel to enter. The ill-fated ship still wanders about like a ghost doomed to be sea-tossed and never more to enjoy rest.

Among Western sailors there is a solemn belief that the ghost ship appears as the harbinger of disaster and ship-wreck. The places where the belief is current are usually the dangerous quarters associated with shipwrecks. In the Goodwin sands, Kent, a phantom ship—said to be a Spanish galleon is often seen rushing up the channel into

the welter of foam eventually to go to pieces. The booming of her guns, calling for assistance is said to be heard above the roar of the wind and the waves. Sailors frequenting Greek waters say the ancient battle of Salamis is often seen re-enacted by supernatural men and ships. In Polynesia a similar belief is current, the original of the phantom steamer being a steamer, wrecked with all its cargo of gold. No wonder, therefore, in India where men deprived prematurely and horribly of their lives are said to haunt their old scenes along with the criminals, the belief in phantom ships is also current. It is however only the fishermen and *lascars*, those of the former who venture out during bad weather and those of the latter who are employed in vessels plying to and from the Coral islands in the Arabian sea, who have actually seen the phantom ships. The places which the spectral ship frequents are near the Maldives and Laccadives, both scenes of many shipwrecks and near Velliyan Kallu an island rock 10 miles off Quilandy on the Malabar coast. The Malabar coast has, till the assertion of British supermacy, always been infested with pirates. The Greek author of the "Periplus of the Erythraean sea" who wrote in the 1st century of our era, mentions them. And 200 years before Vasco da Gama came to Malabar, Marco Polo told Europe of Malabar pirates. The pirates were Mahrattas and Moslems.

Velliyan Kallu, the white island of Roman and Greek authors, is now known as "Sacrifice rock". Fryer tells us the new appellation was "in remem-

berance of the bloody butchery of some English by the pirate Malabars". Kunhali Marakar of Kottakal had in 1600 captured a Portugese vessel and killed the crew on the island. Ghosts are, it is said, so very active on the island at nights, that no one—nice edible fish are captured in the sea around and edible birds' nests and guano are obtainable in the island—dare stay there overnight. An engineer who was deputed many years ago to examine its suitability for the erection of a lighthouse, is said to be the only one who has done so in recent years. His men refused to stay there and came ashore. He, it is said, spent a wretched night, his tent having been blown away at night. In the morning he found all the work done on the previous day completely demolished—as the men said,—by the ghosts. He, it is said, reported adversely on the scheme. According to my informant, the crew of the phantom ships which are sometimes double, are all "Thoppiyitta" Ahmads. Apparently they were forcibly converted and pressed into the pirate service. The sight of a phantom ship which coincides with bad weather, paralyses the crew of the native vessels which play about without instruments, relying entirely on the memory of the pilot. Invocations to Thangals e. g., the famous Mambram Thangal—in the Bay of Bengal Moslem *lascars* call upon "Nagore Meeran" and Xians "Xavier" in times of distress—are said to restore confidence among the crew.

S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S.

V. INHERITANCE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF TRAVANCORE. *

The primitive peoples of Travancore offer an interesting field of study for tracing the evolution of inheritance.

The most primitive type of order of inheritance is that the father's property devolved on sons in common, while the chief dignity which was not divisible fell to the eldest. Sir Henry Maine has been the main sponsor of this theory, and he starts from a primitive line of descent from father to son. This theory derives substantial support from the Hill-Pandarams of Travancore. Like the Veddas of Ceylon they are one of the Pre-Dravidian hill-tribes, who return before the march of civilization into the recesses of hills in Central Travancore, and who subsist by hunting and collecting hill-produce with very little of agriculture. Among them, sons succeed to the *patria potestas*, on their father's demise. The Todas of the Nilgiris and the Kammalars of Travancore, who practise fraternal polyandry, consider that children are common to all. Consequently, sons inherit that which is heritable property, i. e. Cattle and the like, from their fathers.

The evolution of family subsequently transformed the rule of inheritance of property, but left that of dignity untouched. In every inheritance by primitive community, age is a source of reverence and influence. Considerations of fitness therefore

made it desirable to entrust the management of common interests of the family to the eldest and most experienced member, and this has produced the collateral line of inheritance by brothers. Among the Muduvans of Travancore, a man's property goes to his elder or younger sister's son with this reservation that, if he has a younger brother, the property goes to the sister's son after his demise. Debts are inherited, as property is. The Mannans of Travancore in common with other hill-tribes follow the Marumakkathāyam law of inheritance, according to which a man's property goes to his sister's son. Their property consists of vessels, cattle, bill-hook, and the like.

The inheritance of the widow of the deceased is placed in the same category as property. The claims of the mother to subsistence out of her husband's property makes her widow. These claims are connected with the custom including her in her brother-in-law's inheritance. The Arabs think that connection between widow and brother-in-law is desirable, as family property is kept together. Since in joint family groups, brother succeeds to headship of family, the community and its interests and general protection are committed to his care, so also are widow and her children, which takes the form of marriage in primitive conditions. The importance of property of the deceased is a factor preventing the widow from returning to her family. It is remarkable

the custom whereby a man marries the widow of his deceased brother and becomes the father of the children. Among the Pulayas, widows are allowed to remarry, the brother of her deceased husband having preference to others.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, B. A.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for April, 1926, Dr. J. H. Hutton, describes an ancient carved stone in the Angami village of Kigwema. This stone is roughly incised with the "enemy tooth" pattern and with what look like lotus-buds but must really be spear-heads. The edge of the stone is cut into double indentations, which, Dr. Hutton thinks, may represent breasts. "Anyhow they form a tally of reputed love-affairs". The tradition regarding the stone would suggest its association with fertility, and the carving particularly the spear-heads, suggest, some connection with Dimapur and Jamuguri.

In *Man* for June 1926, Mr. Henry Balfour, M. A., F. R. S., describes the Naga practice of using frictional fire-making ritualistically, as a means of taking omens. For the purposes of divination or taking omens, it is not necessary actually to procure a spark, and therefore the "hearth"-stick need not be split at the end which is subjected to the sawing friction, as in generating fire for ordinary domestic purposes. All that is necessary for purposes of augury is to follow the normal procedure of the fire-making process (friction with a stick and flexible cane sawing-thong), and to continue the sawing until the cane thong breaks. "The broken ends of the thong are then examined and the exact nature of the fracture is carefully studied, to see whether the omen is favourable or not". Mr. Balfour also describes a similar practice

prevalent among the Kayons and Kenyahs of the Baram district of Sarawak.

In the *Folk-Lore* for September 1925, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C. I. E., contributes an article on *The Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*. This article is based on a series of papers entitled "Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom" contributed by the late Sir James Macnobb Campbell to the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. Mr. Balfour summarises the general nature of Campbell's theories and offers one or two criticisms. One of Campbell's main theories is that "the Unwilled is the Spirit-caused", and a second is that "the first idea of a spirit was the soul of the dead"; and a third theory is that "the development of spirit-lore was from spirit-scaring to spirit-squaring", (by the provision of suitable quarters and meals). One obvious criticism which the author makes is that practices which very clearly have had a spirit-scaring origin in some instances may equally have originated in other and quite as probable thought-processes, or possibly been the spontaneous result of physical activities.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1926, the Rev. P. O. Bodding discusses the meaning of the words *Buru* and *Bonga* in Sāntālī. As a result of the discussion, the author concludes that "*bonga* is the common name for a spirit of the Santal spirit-world, and that *buru* really and originally means a mountain, but may in certain circumstances be used metaphorically for the spirits supposed to have residence on

hills and mountains, those who are worshipped by the village priest (*ato naeke*), the priest who officiates for the village in connection with the *bongas* supposed to live at the back of the houses (*Kudam*), i. e., on the outskirts and the village boundaries”.

In the same number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra narrates a “Ho Folk-tale of the Wicked Queen’s Type”, and S. C. Roy contributes a note on *The Asurs—Ancient and Modern*.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for January, 1926, Prof. Kalipada Mitra concludes his paper on *The Bird and Serpent Myth*, and Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra contributes his seventh paper on *Studies in Bird-Myths*. In the April (1926) number of the same Journal, Mr. J. A. Saldanha contributes an article on the *Origin of the Konkani People and Language*.

In the *Asian* for June, 1926, Miss Jane Alden contributes an article on *Hindu Peace and Christian Power in the Way of Life and Thought exemplified by Indian Monk and Western Missionary*. The author’s critical evaluation of the organization and work of the Christian missions in India appears to be as sound as her appreciation of the essence of Hindnism and Buddhism. Says she, “The power of the Christian Church, and of most Christians, is in action: the practical carrying out, into all fields and departments of life, of the supremely Christian ideal of service to one’s neighbour. The ideal is a great one. It would be greater still if it included recognition of the greatness of other ideals and their equally precious services”. Again, “The

outstanding work of the missionaries in India, as I saw it, is social work: Education, the healing of disease and the teaching of cleanliness and self-respect, improvement of the position of women and of the outcasted—in short, the giving of value to individuality. I have never met any Orientals to whom the metaphysics of Christianity was an especial boon—because that of course came from the Orient, and they have plenty of it. But when to one of these submerged millions, as to a slave of old, comes the news—under the Christian formula—that he is free, free spiritually, and free intellectually as fast as he can take the education and other opportunities that the Christian messengers hold out to him, it would be a strange slave indeed who did not respond with whole-hearted acceptance of the Christian religion. What have the philosophic subtleties of his exclusive Hindus done for him?" "India's great weakness is social exclusiveness, which grew out of keeping with the highest knowledge in possession of the 'twice-born' castes and away from the masses. India, which is paying dearly for that exclusiveness today, has waked up to the fact that she will never be anything until she repairs her fault and patiently educates those whom she has neglected." "But", on the other hand, says Miss Alden, "our own great weakness is spiritual exclusiveness and arrogance and the assumption that our prophet and our doctrine alone can save mankind".

As for Hinduism, the author considers that "the Hindu idea of all the great religious teachers as

saviours and divine incarnations is more beautiful and tolerant, and more really Christian than ours".

The author finds the finer ideal (than that of Christian missionaries) in such passages of the *Mahābhārata*, "which in its oldest form antedates the Christian era by several centuries", as—"Whenever there is a decline of religion and virtue, and whenever there is an ascendancy of vice, I incarnate myself for the establishment of *dharma*, of righteousness, and for the destruction of the wicked"; and again, "Whatever path a man may choose according to his own inclination and inborn tendencies, I reveal myself through that path". The author also quotes from the *Rigveda* the passage,—“He the Lord is one, Truth is one, but men call It by various names”, and asks, “Which is the finer ideal—the bigger and more inspiring point of view? Shall we have one single manifestation of divine goodness, one single inspired book, to guide us through human history, or shall we have all the divine men and all the sacred books that our brothers of every time and clime have contributed to the rich store-house of the ages? Is it to impress our will and our way on the world that the Christian Church exists? Or should it be to present our way, modestly, among other ways, for men to choose of their own accord, if our lives make it seem irresistibly attractive?”

The essence of the Hindu religious doctrine was thus truly and pithily explained to the author by a Hindu monk into whose ‘strong old face’ Miss Alden observed ‘such peace and beauty as comes of God-realisation’:

"The only way to help the world, to purify society is to purify the individual. You Westerners have the unshakable conviction that some day all the evil in the world will be disposed of by reforms and philanthropic organizations and that then will come the millennium. But we Hindus say that logically no such thing can happen. For, what is this world, all this appearance, or *maya* as we call it, but the play-ground of two forces—attraction and repulsion, or, in ethical language, good and evil? How can you have life without these two? No this world is simply a grand moral gymnasium, in which souls may gain strength and insight through various tests and experiences and so ultimately God-realisation and liberation. We believe in progressive unfoldment, from lower to higher states of consciousness—from the lowest animal to the highest god—and in the action and reaction, the sowing and reaping, incident upon successive phases of development. But, Hindu philosophy says that you cannot be lugged into paradise on the shoulders of some one else's suffering. You must struggle, and never cease struggling in order to attain to the consciousness of that supreme life—knowledge—bliss that is our idea of heaven and happiness. For to us God is not a person, favourable to some and unfavourable to others—who have not been lucky enough to hear about him through one special religious system that he approves of. He is Immanent Spirit, pervading every atom of this universe, nearer than the near, the very breath

and life and heart of every being. And by quieting restless thoughts and drawing in the scattered senses from those outer objects that divert us, we may gradually purify and clear the mind till we do behold the Lord himself—not far off, not separate from ourselves, but here and now, shining effulgent within us". "Every soul in the world will finally know that experience"—the experience of God-realization, "as surely as there is within every soul the principle of expansion, intelligence, growth, that will not stop until the very outermost limit has been reached".

The Hindu system of accelerating this process of soul-expansion is known as *yoga*. "The Hindus believe that for each of us there is a natural temperamental path of approach to Truth." "When a person has found that particular Yoga-path that is the right path for him, he can go much faster. "You have doubtless heard a lot of pseudo-oriental nonsense about this Yoga from clever charlatans seeking to exploit their psychic powers. But in reality there is nothing mysterious or 'occult' about it. Yoga is a straightforward science, with certain specific rules, which, if faithfully followed, produce certain specific results. A man may be an atheist, and, if he follows the rules, he will arrive at the same results as the most ardent devotee. There is a *Yoga* for every temperament and every station in life; for the man of action in the thick of the world; for the man of emotion, who needs images and symbols and ceremonies to help him realize; for the experimental man, of scientific and

agnostic tendency; for the philosophic and analytical man, who likes to reason and came to the end by sheer force of logic". Hinduism does not seek converts or church-members, but says to each and every one, "Try to realize the highest Truth; practise it in any way you can, through any form of work or worship that is natural to you". When the author told the monk, "That is very different from the idea held by the Christian missionaries!", the Hindu monk replied, "God bless them; they are following their conviction. To us it seems odd that the West claims itself as a 'Christian' civilization, with a 'Christian' Church. Christ was an Oriental ascetic, preaching the doctrines of non-resistance, renunciation, taking no care for the morrow". "Excuse me", the Hindu monk apologized, "I am speaking of your countrymen. But I am not unappreciative of the real gifts of the Christian missionaries nor of their very real service—of education and social betterment—to India. They came and waked us Hindus to a tardy sense of our own duty. We were too introspective, too unsocial; we carried our spiritual preoccupation to an extreme. There is much that we would gladly learn from the missionaries—we, the educated classes, as well as our pariahs. But will the day ever come when the missionaries will go to a country and ask its people to tell them how to be of help? If missionaries did that, all India would be converted to Christianity overnight! We are about the only practising Christians in the world any-

how," he added, with a mischievous twinkle. The author laughed with him and suggested,—“But aren't all the cock-sureness and superiority of the West just signs of extreme youth?” “Surely—surely”, said the monk serenely. “For nations as for individuals there are two great rhythmic twin aspects of life ; appropriation—renunciation. As we say, *pravritti dharma*, *nivritti dharma*—the path to power and the path to peace. And men must go through the one before they are ready for, or can understand, the other. What meaning has renunciation for your peasant-immigrant or our pariah? First acquire and enjoy, know power, the Hindu scriptures teach, and then and then only will you know the nothingness of power and be ready, nay eager, to renounce it. So these two great systems, the Oriental and the Occidental, are exactly fitted to deal with the two complementary phases of human experience. We should value them for what they are instead of decrying”.

The author's appreciation of the work and influence of the order of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda is thus expressed: “Their influence, since they are working in harmony with India's own cultural tradition, is probably greater than that of any other modern Hindu religious movement. They have taken as their motto *Siva-seva*—“God and service”. Thus to the old ideal of the Indian monk as an isolated wanderer, absorbed in contemplation of the Divine, they have added the ideal of worshipping God in acts of service to man. Much of their time is spent in nursing, caring

for and educating the poor. In this Order there is of course no caste, and the highest Brahman serves the lowliest begger, often going specially to the great *melas*, popular festivals and other gatherings where fever and disease are prevalent, in order to perform the service. Not only are they no whit behind the missionaries with the pariah, but they are gradually bringing other Hindus to their broader conception. In their wise alternation between the life of action and the life of contemplation—making the one feed the other—they seem to me to go beyond our western idea of purely social service with no nourishing inspiration from periods of quiet withdrawal.”

With regard to Buddhism, the author says, “Five hundred years before Christ, the Buddha preached: ‘Practise the truth that thy brother is the same as thee.....Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Do no injury to any living being, but be full of love and kindness. That which is most needed is a loving heart’. I challenge anybody to find more lofty and inspiring, or more helpful and practical, teachings than are to be found in the gospel of the Buddha!” As for the Buddhist doctrine of *Nirvana* which ignorant generalization represents to be a negative philosophy, Miss Alden says, ‘It was not the Buddha who made it negative. Doubtless he and the Christ, too, would be surprised at many of the doctrines of their ‘followers’. The Buddha said, ‘Let him cultivate good will without measure towards the whole world, above, below, around, unstinted, unmixed with any feeling

of making distinctions or showing preferences. This state of heart is best in the world. *It is Nirvana*". In this connection, Miss Alden quotes the following passage from Paul Carus's version of the gospel of Buddha: "The teaching of the Buddha does not require men to go into homelessness or to resign the world,... ..but whatever men do, whether they remain in the world as artisans, merchants, and officers of the king, or retire from the world and devote themselves to a life of religion, let them put their whole heart into their task, let them be diligent and energetic, and if they live in the world—not a life of self but a life of truth—then surely joy, peace, and bliss will reign in their minds".

Thus, says the author, "Everyone of the great world-teachers taught the same thing. All taught that this same one truth *will* deliver. All taught the laying down of the life of the limited self. All emphasized the spirit and not the letter. All said, 'be in world, but not of it'. You have only to go through the several scriptures to be struck with the similarities in every page". We pass ignorant generalizations from mouth to mouth about the 'negative philosophy' of the Indians—and what occidental in a million has read the Hindu scriptures?" Miss Alden wishes that "every westerner would read Paul Carus's version of the gospel of Buddha and that great Hindu classic, the Bhagavat-Gita".

We have quoted extensively from Miss Alden's article as it appears to breathe a tru' ' ro-

pological' spirit, and may serve to remove preconceived ideas that warp the judgement of most foreign writers on Indian religions. Articles like Miss Alden's are expected to foster among Europeans and Indians that mutual appreciation of and esteem for each other's culture which is the pressing need of the moment in India.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Folk-Lore of Bombay.—*By R. E. Enthoven, C. I. E., (Oxford University Press, 1924). PP. 353. Price 14 s.*

In this book the author, who is well known to students of Indian Ethnology, gives an account of the folk-beliefs, and folk-practices of the Bombay Presidency with the exception of Sindh which differs markedly from the rest of the Presidency in its history, population and physical features. The book begins with an interesting Introduction of 20 pages and is divided into 12 chapters headed as follows; I. and II. Worship of Natural objects; III. Tree and Snake worship; IV. Worship of Ancestors, Holy Men and saints; V. Spirit Possession and Scaring; VI. Totemism and Animal Worship; VII. Evil Eye and Avoidance. Witchcraft and Magic; VIII. Dreams and Omens; IX. Disease Deities and Curing of Disease in Human Beings; X. Women's Rites; XI. Village, Field, and other Rites; XII. Miscellaneous Beliefs and Practices. The Appendix reproduces 'Questions on Folk-Lore' prepared by the late Dr. W. Crooke. The book is indeed a mine of valuable information regarding popular beliefs and practices in the Bombay Presidency. This mass of information, however, having been collected by the questionnaire method, is necessarily scrappy, and has the defects and disadvantages inseparable from that method. For one thing, such general statements as 'it is a common belief' in such-and-such a district or 'in

this Province', and the uniform omission to notice variations in any practice or belief among different castes or tribes either in the same local area or in different local areas, are disconcerting to the critical student of Anthropology. The talented author of the *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* is presumably in possession of a mass of such facts relating to individual castes and tribes; and the value of the present book will be considerably enhanced if in the next edition such information about beliefs and practices of individual castes and tribes are discriminatingly supplied in their proper places, and an attempt is made to trace the factors that may have contributed to bring about such variation. The scanty index is another defect in this otherwise valuable book. In the present lamentable paucity of books on Indian Ethnology and folklore, the book under review will prove a valuable addition to the anthropologist's library.

Religion and Folklore of Northern India.—By William Crooke, C. I. E., Prepared for the Press by R. E. Enthoven, C. I. E., (Oxford University Press, 1926) PP. 471. Price 21 s.

Anthropologists will welcome this new and revised edition of the author's well-known work, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. Besides a short Introduction, the book is divided into 17 Chapters as follows:—I. The Godlings of Nature; II. The Village Godlings; III. The Worship and sacrifice to the Godlings; IV. The

Godlings of Disease; V. The Kindly Dead, the Cult of Ancestors: Worship of Heroes; VI Special Hero Cults; VII. The spirits of the Malevolent Dead, and Demons; VIII. The Conciliation and Repression of the Ghost; IX. Fertility and Agricultural Rites. X. The Evil Eye; XI. Luck and Ill Luck: Omens; Divination; XII. The Worship of Material objects; XIII Fire; XIV. Animal Worship; XV. Serpent Worship; XVI. Tree and Plant Worship; XVII. The Black Art: Witchcraft. A copious index is appended.

This book is to a great extent free from the defect that we noted in the book last reviewed (*Folklore of Bombay*), namely, the omission to notice variations in any custom among different tribes and castes in the same district or different districts. Although in some cases, readers and reviewers may differ from the author with regard to the probable origin or rationale of a practice or belief, there can be no two opinions about the great value of the work as a store-house of information regarding popular religion and folklore in Northern India. No serious student of Indian ethnology can afford to omit the book from his library.

The Peoples of Asia.—By L. H. Dudley-Buxton, M. A., F. A. S. (London: Kegan Paul, 1925) PP. 271. Price 12 s. 6 d.

This book forms the second volume in the section of Historical Ethnology in the History of

Civilization series edited by Prof. C. K. Ogden and published by the well-known firm of Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd. The volume is especially valuable as the first important work on the Peoples of Asia with special reference to the biological as distinguished from the cultural aspect. The author employs in his investigations and discussions as to racial types, racial purity or admixture, the more accurate methods of the Biometric school with its "measures of dispersion", "probable errors", and the theory of "contingency and correlation", in place of the older methods of analysis of anthropometrical data and working out "averages" by rule-of-thumb without considering accurately how far these averages could really be taken as typical measurements of the group from which the original measurements were obtained. By the application of this method to existing data our author comes to the general conclusion that physically there is comparatively little difference between some of the races of Europe and those of Asia, whereas in other races the difference is more profound. "Biologically the majority of the races of Asia from the extreme west to the east are closely connected with those of Europe. The distinctions between them are probably not greater than might be said to warrant the term local varieties, although in some cases the differentiation seems to be sufficient to make the use of the word 'sub-race' admissible. In Eastern Asia, however, there seems to be very

widely spread a group of peoples, conveniently termed Yellow man who seem to be more remotely connected with the races of Europe. Even here the degree of divergence is to a certain extent a matter of dispute. Finally, in remote parts of South-eastern Asia there are sporadic traces of an entirely different type of man who, all ethnologists are agreed, must be considered as widely differentiated from the other two groups. In numbers the Negritos are so few as to form an infinitesimal part of the peoples of Asia. Yellow man is very numerous, and probably the greater part of the population of Asia belongs to this race, but the other races are very plentiful and may have a slight majority. The smaller varieties of the great stocks are also present in large numbers, although they seem to be divided into certain marked categories. As far as can be judged with evidence that has been collected at present these varieties seem to be dominant in certain well-marked regions, so that in spite of divergencies in detail it is often possible to state in broad outline the physical type which inhabits a certain area.

With reference to India in particular, Mr. Buxton concludes that Risley's grouping of the peoples of India is on the whole sound, though his nomenclature is not always happy for in most cases Risley's terms have reference to comparatively recent and historic peoples, whereas probably the type of Indian population was settled long before these historic movements took place as, in fact, in most places the racial stocks date from before the historic period. Mr. Buxton refers to this

hypothesis of a Mongoloid element in the Bengali population to the 'Alpine' theory of Haddon and Ramaprasad Chanda. Our author inclines to hold with Charles Henderson that the Munda-speaking tribes are immigrants *via* Assam and the plains of Bengal from Tibet. The author deprecates Risley's emphasis on the importance of the nasal index and says, "The data seem to indicate very clearly that in India the nasal index is to a certain extent independent of those characters which we may describe as racial, and is ultimately the result of response to environment. The races that have been the longest in Indian climate and have become the most closely stabilized in equilibrium with their environment show the largest nasal index. And thus "the broadest noses are found among the lowest classes, among such people as the pre-Dravidians."

As for the racial stocks of India, there is, according to our author, first, a very primitive form of the Brown race, which constitute the least mixed and earliest of the populations of India, "characterised by dark skin-colour, short stature, long heads and broad noses. Their hair, though tending to curliness, is not woolly, and therefore "there is no reason to suggest that they have in them a Negrito strain". Our author would call them by the cumbersome descriptive name of the 'Jungle peoples of South India'. Our author deprecates as pure speculation the suggestion that they are possibly akin to the Melanesians, the Tasmanians and other primitive peoples. He however suggests that they probably represent the

first immigration of members of the Brown race, and it is not impossible that they may be considered as the true aborigines, a close counterpart of the early non-Neanderthal people of Europe whom they resemble in many ways, but from whom they differ in their striking adaptation to the steaming climate of a tropical jungle".

The second division of classification of the peoples of India, according to Mr. Buxton is formed by a more advanced branch of the Brown race, represented by such groups as the Malayalis, the Tamils and the Telugus. They are also inclined to be short in stature, have very variable skin-colour, and wavy hair. Their difference from the former class (Jungle peoples) is probably such as cannot be considered fundamental. "The Dravidian peoples", says our author, "are representatives of the Brown race, who have changed to a certain extent in tropical environment, but who with their variable skin-colour and narrower noses suggest that the cradle of their race was not in Southern India, but at least in a semi-tropical or sub-tropical environment". These "probably represent a second immigration from the west" and "ultimately derived from the same stock" as the "Pre-Dravidian".

Thirdly and widely-separated from the other two we have the long-headed, tall-statured, narrow-nosed, fair-skinned people of the white race whom Risley calls the "Indo-Aryans, who are probably of the same stock as the Proto-Nordics, but their relationship at present is not clearly defined". "They appear to be a pure-bred differentiated type which has penetrated into Northern India, probably

at some early time but possibly later than some of the round-heads, although it would appear certainly later than the Dravidian and Pre-Dravidian peoples. Their relationship to the Dravidians is a difficult question, but the distinction between them is clear. The distinction between the two rests on a relative fairness and a relatively narrow nose".

Besides these three long-headed peoples there is the great group of the round-headed peoples. These, our author suggests, may not improbably belong to the Armenoid branch of the White race. "The evidence, such as we have at present, suggests that they originally entered India at an early period, and it is more than probable that their first migration was sufficiently early for them to form a small but integral part of the Dravidian population. Subsequently it would seem there were a series of migrations of these peoples... .. In any case they have mixed considerably with other types either before they came to India or after or even during their arrival. The fact that they are found in their least mixed state in the north-west suggests that they entered from this direction and indeed this type can be found sporadically across the whole continent of Asia from Constantinople to Peking. They were at least a part of the population of Mesopotamia when Kish flourished as a city. It seems probable that they represent the element in the population of India which has been called Scythian by Risley. Most of these latter groups are very variable in character;

as a whole they are the most variable of all groups. They are also intermediate in character between the long-heads and the short-heads and the people of tall and short stature. Their general physique seems to correspond with what might be expected of the mixture of two races who were already somewhat mixed. It is natural in a country where we have reason to suspect the presence of both Armenoid and Brown man that we should find in various degrees mixture of this two peoples.

The final type in India is the Yellow man, who, Mr. Buxton points out, appears to be less mixed than many of the Dravidians and hardly more mixed than some of the Indo-Aryans." The peoples who are said by Risley to be Mongoloid have a small stature and only a small standard deviation and the Mongolo-Dravidians of Risley have a greater stature and an increased standard deviation. "It would seem, therefore," says Mr. Buxton, "as if the branch of Yellow man who penetrated into India were only moderately round-headed and of short stature, and belonged, in fact, to the Parecean branch of that great race". Our author is of opinion that the distribution of Yellow man in India is on the general lines laid down by Risley and that he penetrated India through the eastern borderland. "While there is no reason to doubt Risley's general dictum that there are representatives of Yellow man in India, it seems probable that when we have further data to hand, we shall be compelled to revise somewhat his classification of these peoples, and

for the present it is probably safer to disregard at least some of the classes which he has called Mongolo-Dravidian and to refer to them as being local variants of the type of the Parecean race. The Munda-speaking peoples are said to be linguistically related to some of the Parecean peoples. And our author thinks with Schmidt that the connection is not merely linguistic. In Ceylon, "the very end of the road in Southern Asia", our author finds an admixture of most of the races which have at various times poured into India. As for the eastern frontiers of India, "in all probability, the same racial strains are to be found here as in the rest of India, but there seems to be no evidence of any Negrito blood". "Probably most of the races which we have found in India are here modified with a greater contact with the Parecean than elsewhere; indeed, it seems as if this Parecean type probably penetrated into India by this way". Mr. Buxton considers it necessary to postulate a wide dispersion of the Pre-Dravidian peoples and some early contact or affinity with Parecean man although they are for the most part dolichocephalic". The evidence of dark skins and broad noses suggests to him a continued residence in an undifferentiated climate in a hot moist region, although he admits that the evidence for this suggestion is at present not entirely conclusive.

Among later immigrants in India are the Nagas of Assam among whom "there is an element that is certainly akin to the Nesiot", which can "be

most easily distinguished from the Pre-Dravidian elements by the lower value of the nasal index." "The third strain represented in Assam which is akin to the races of Europe is probably an outlier of the Alpine race, and is possibly a comparatively late arrival in this area, as people of this race contrast very strongly with those so far described as having narrow noses. "They are apparently immigrants from the north. Finally there are in Assam, a series of very different racial element related to the Pareceans, of which there are two well-distinguished types, one with a broad nose closely akin to the Kachin of Burma, another which is possibly "due to an early mixture of Parecean with other element", or may be "a differentiated type of the same stock as the Kachins, possibly effected by long residence in a special environmet". This latter type "does not occur in Burma, but is found among the Lapetion in Northern India, and also not infrequently in Bengal". There have, in addition to these types, been further and more recent immigrations into Assam from India, which have introduced other types, notably that described by Haddon as dolichocephalic leptorrhine. "This great mixture is, perhaps, the natural result of an environment where so many types of men coming from widely different strains have met at various times".

The results of his biometrical investigations, says Mr. Buxton, "confirm the suggestions made by Risley in many ways; they suggest, however that more mixing has taken place than Risley

seems inclined to suggest, especially among the Dravidians and among the Turko-Iranians." "They suggest that on the whole the less variable groups are those which are long-headed, and those which are of short stature, but the evidence from our tables is stronger in the former case than in the latter. This being consistently true it seems reasonable to suppose that the earliest inhabitants who have left traces were short and long-headed, but that their shortness was not so marked a feature as their long-headedness". Our author's investigations point to the conclusion that there is no relation between the value of the nasal index and its variation.

The nasal index, like colour, according to our author "is to a certain extent independent of those characters which we may describe as racial, and is ultimately the result of response to environment". "This response is by no means immediate, and therefore certain types of noses are associated with certain racial types".

Although some of the conclusions of our author may have to be revised in the light of further investigations, the author's investigations are full of interest, the marshalling of his data and their analysis and examination are skilful and of invaluable help to the student. We heartily welcome this well-written book as the first of its kind and a highly important contribution to our anthropological literature.

Primitive Religion.—*By Robert H. Lowie, Ph. D. (Boni and Leviright; New York, 1924) \$ 3. 50.*

This book is a most valuable contribution to the study of primitive religion. Dr. Lowie has done a great service to the science of comparative Religion by laying special stress on the emotional factor of religion, a factor not sufficiently stressed by previous writers. In Part II of the book, the leading theories, such as Tylor's animistic scheme, Frazer's conception of an age of magic preceding that of religion, and Durkheim's scheme of the divine social group, are critically examined and shown to be faulty and defective. Our author whose position is a psychological one agrees with Marett in holding that both animism and animatism are essentially non-religious, or only potentially religious in so far as the emotional attitude characteristic of religion clusters about their objects. While holding that the psychological facts of religion are the most fundamental that a history of religion can deal with and without which such a history would be well-nigh meaningless, Dr. Lowie does not ignore the necessity for historical study and the interdependence of psychological and historical factors, at any rate on higher levels of civilization. The author fully recognizes that an insight into the psychology of religious phenomena is impossible without reference to the conditions that preceded and accompanied them. But he insists that however important history may be for an elucidation of psychology, its part is ancillary. Dr. Lowie agrees with Drs. Marett and

Goldenweiser in recognizing "Supernaturalism" (a sense of the extraordinary, weird, mysterious, supernatural) as the differentia of religion, and holds that the only legitimate mode of approach to the study of any religion is to consider it from the point of view of its votaries and to "ascertain what are their concepts of the supernatural, how they are inter-related and weighted with reference to one another". Part I of the book gives synthetic sketches of the Crow, Ekoi, Bakua and Polynesian religions. For reasons of space the author has selected only these four representative aboriginal religions and interpreted the native's point of view.

The result of a comparison of different religions, says Dr. Lowie, goes to show that merely to catalogue the occurrence of various beliefs and observances occurring amongst them is a futile enterprise. "When we know that a tribe practises witchcraft, believes in ghosts, recognizes the mysterious potency resident in inanimate nature, or, it may be, the supremacy of some one supernatural being, we know precisely nothing concerning the religion of the people concerned. Everything depends on the interdependence of the several departments of supernaturalism, on the emotional weighting that attaches to each and everyone of them," and the organization of these traits into a distinctive whole. A consistent scheme of the Extraordinary or Supernatural moiety of the universe is lacking in most or all primitive tribes, but all respond to the Supernatural or Extraordinary in the routine of existence; what differs is the

technique employed. In one of the typical crises of life, a Crow Indian throws himself on the Supernatural by going out for a vision; an Ekoi consults a diviner and prays to ghost or njoum; a Bakua resorts to the magician, who in turn falls back upon the traditional recipe.

The peculiarity of Polynesian religion with its elaborate ceremonialism and extreme formalism among other things, will be found, in the inter-relations of social and religious motives. The characteristic Polynesian mode of entering into communion with divine beings was not through a mere theophany but by a veritable inspiration, the visitant entering the body of the person favoured and to speak through him. In Tonga only the major gods and the souls of nobles possessed the priests who for the time being spoke in the god's name and took precedence of the king himself, though immediately after the performance they resumed their normal station. Among the Tikopians, commoners as well as chiefs may be inspired, but the former are possessed only by the spirit of a dead commoner, nor may the spirit of a chief be questioned by any one of lesser dignity. As for the taboo concepts, one of the most remarkable creations of Polynesian religious thought, no Tongan durst appropriate the remains of a superior's meal on pain of a sorethroat; the cloak discarded by a Maori Chief could not with safety be donned by an attendant, no one was allowed to touch a superior's head or pass close behind him or eat in his presence. Thus social privilege and elisi

belief were closely intertwined in the Polynesian community.

In Part III of the book, the author discusses, with his wonted skill and great ability, historical and psychological aspects of the subject, but space prevents us from referring to them in detail. This part deals with "Historical schemes and Regional Characterization", "History and Psychology", "Woman and Religion", "Individual Variability", "Religion and Art", and "Association". Dr. Lowie very rightly insists on the immediate need for adequate regional surveys, "an accurate determination of specific tribal religions and upon this basis a series of intensive distribution studies covering successively culture areas, continents, and the whole globe". Finally, the author rightly insists on the necessity of setting aside the conventional boundaries of the religious field. The religious sentiment, Dr. Lowie points out, is independent of a definable object but capable of concentrating on any object and by such concentration creating its supernatural while by secondary association all manner of other objects may be gathered within the scope of the supernatural. Understood in this sense, Religion will outlast the apparently triumphant spread of scientific enlightenment, for "history shows merely a transfer of the religious sentiment to new manifestations of the Extraordinary or Holy, never an extinction of the sentiment itself".

The Heart of Aryavarta.—*By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P. C., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E. (Constable & Co., London 1925) PP. XVII+262.*

This is the last volume of the trilogy on India from the pen of one of the most sympathetic of India's governors. And his interpretation of the mentality and world-view, the 'thought-structure', of Hindu India is born of close study, intimate acquaintance and a deep sympathetic insight. Among the more prominent peculiarities of that thought-structure, the noble Earl notices the Hindu's idealism, his 'reliance upon renunciation rather than action', his 'deep-seated capacity for religious devotion', and a 'strongly developed emotional temperament. The tendency of the Indian mind, our author finds, is to look for reality in ideas rather than in objects, in the abstract rather than in the concrete. Thus, for instance, the fundamental difference between the artistic conceptions of India and of Europe, is that whereas the Indian artist seeks to make the abstract manifest, to give expression to the idea which lies behind the appearance of things, to give a suggestion of things unseen, the object of Western artists is 'the mere reproduction of things seen'. Thus, to take one instance, the conventional image of the seated Buddha is "the embodiment of that ideal which throughout the ages India has sought with passionate tenacity—stillness, release from activity,—that perfect peace which passeth all understanding to which she has applied the term Nirvana."

from the evil of existence—in a word, salvation”. “The same trail which characterises Indian imagery is observable in Indian painting also; for the Hindu artist, “painting is visualised music, each picture being an interpretation in form and colour of a particular melody”. This idealism which permeates the art of India is but a reflection of her thought of which the most complete expression is to be found in the monistic (*advaita*) idealism of Sankaracharya, concentrated in the two famous aphorisms culled from the Upanishads; *Tat twam asi* (“Thou art That”), and “*Neti, neti*” (“Not so, not so”). Brahman or the Supreme Spirit is according to the Vedanta, the highest philosophy of India, is the sole ultimate reality, the rest is *Māyā*, which has been defined as the power by which the “Infinite Enchanter has contrived to put His own substance, which must be of the character of the infinite and absolute, into this texture which is woven in space and time”. “Intelligence alone constitutes the nature of the self... Hence the soul manifests itself in the nature of pure intelligence, free from all manifoldness, calm, not capable of being expressed by any terms”. Our author rightly observes, “the things cannot be defined by human language. “They are such that from them, in the words of the Rishis, of old, “all speech with the mind, turns away, unable to reach them”.....For a true appreciation of the spirit of the Vedanta a man must bring to bear upon its study faith, reverence, insight, or he will inevitably lose himself in a jungle of mere words”.

As for the spirit of modern India and the influences which are now shaping her growth, the author writes in the Epilogue,—“A struggle is in progress between two main influences for the acquisition of the upper hand in determining her future—inherited tendencies and acquired characteristics. The period of growth, so far as it has gone, has produced individual cases in which one or other of these two influences has been in the ascendant to the almost complete exclusion of the other. Examples of the triumph of acquired characteristics over hereditary tendencies are to be found in the case of a number of Anglicised Indians, particularly of the second generation of Western educated Bengalis of the nineteenth century. Cases of the reverse process where inherited tendencies have vanquished acquired characteristics have been seen of late. Mr. M. K. Gandhi may be taken as an outstanding example. If between these two extremes there exists a golden mean, it must be the offspring of a reconciliation between these two forces”. Truly does the author remark, “Such a golden mean should not be beyond the genius of India, for it was one of the greatest of Indian sages who preached and popularised the essential wisdom of the Middle Way”. Sir J. C. Bose, it is very pertinently pointed out, “stands to day as a living witness of the success with which the special features from the life of a foreign nationality—in this case the analytical methods of experimental science—can be grafted upon the genius and character of

the Indian nation... ..He draws his inspiration from the particular 'World idea' of the Indian race, the idea that is to be the corner-stone of the new Indian nation as it was of the old Hindu race—the idea of an all-pervading unity underlying the apparent diversity of the universe. The author's views are on the whole sound. Books like this are of the greatest value, particularly at the present day. We accord a hearty welcome to the book which, it is expected, will help in a better appreciation of Indian mentality by our English administrators and other Westerners.

Where Strange Gods Call.—By *Harry Harvey*, with Illustrations by *Christopher Murray*. (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1925). PP. 288. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

This is a book of travels written by a well-known novelist and characterised by a refreshing vividness and charm which only a good novelist or poet can impart to his accounts. Yet the author's account appears to give us essentially faithful portraits of men and manners. As the reader follows the author on his travels through the Sandwich Islands, Japan, China, the Phillipines, the Malay Archipelago and Burma, he feels as if he is brought in actual contact with the sceneries and peoples which the author describes. Although there is no systematic description of the countries and

peoples visited by the author, his accounts give the reader interesting glimpses of characteristic phases of human life and places and sceneries in the countries visited. His appreciation of Shintoism, and Buddhism and of Confucian ethics appears to be sound. Like one of his acquaintances in Java, our author realizes that sometimes a nigger is as good as a white man, and that yellow and brown and black peoples are not necessarily "heathen".

Bedouin Justice.—*By Austin Kennet, (University Press, Cambridge, 1925) PP. XV+151. Price 7 s. 6 d. net.*

This is a very interesting book and, so far as we know, the first of its kind. As an administrative officer in the Libyan Desert and in Sinai, the author has had great opportunities of studying Bedouin life and manners, and in this book, he has endeavoured, by describing lawsuits and the means employed in their disposal, to give a realistic picture of Bedouin life and character. The true Bedouin as depicted by our author is quite a different being from the Bedou of modern fiction and popular imagination.

The author thus briefly sums up the Bedouin character:—"He is a sportsman by instinct, although occasionally treacherous according to Western ideas; a fearless fighter, an intrepid horseman, and a born host. His hospitality is boundless, and any passer-by is welcomed as one of the family. Naturally inquisitive, he curbs his

curiosity, making it a point of honour to feed both guest and horse before asking questions as to their movements. The Bedouin leads a hard life, and yet retains a wonderful sense of justice and a humour peculiarly his own. At the same time a confiding child and an arch-schemer, generous yet miserly, strong yet weak,—he is, in a word, an anomaly.

The Cambridge Ancient History.—*Edited by J. B. Bury, M. A., F. B. A., S. A. Cook, Litt. D., and F. E. Adcock, M. A.*—*Vol. III. The Assyrian Empire. (University Press, Cambridge, 1925), PP. XXV+821. Price 35 s. net.*

Students of history will heartily welcome this third volume of the Cambridge Ancient History as they welcomed its predecessors. This volume worthily maintains the high standard of the earlier volumes. In chapter I, Mr. Sidney Smith gives an illuminating account of the Foundation of the Assyrian Empire; in the second chapter, entitled The Supremacy of Assyria, the same accomplished writer describes the work of Tiglath-pileser III., who ascended the throne in 745 B. C., and restored, and more than restored, to the Assyrians, the dominions held by Shalmaneser III and Adadnirarit II., the consolidation of the Empire under Sargon II who had reduced Chaldea to subjection, thus gaining Babylon for a prize, fought with Egypt and Arabia and had surrounded the Elamite territory to north and west with Assyrian

garrisons and provinces. In the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, the same author carries the story through the reigns of Sencherib and Esarhaddon, and the Age of Ashurbanipal down to the fall of the Assyrian Empire and the rise of the Chaldeans.

In Chapters VI & VII, Dr. D. G. Hoggarth describes the Hittite peoples of Syria, their conquest and occupation of Assyria, and the distinctive civilization known as the Hittite culture which was possessed and developed for at least a thousand years by "several societies differing in chronological periods and geographical location, also, probably in race".

In chapter VIII., Prof. A. H. Sayce relates the interesting history, religion and culture, of the Kingdom of Van (Uratu of the Assyrians and Babylonians and Ararat of the Hebrews) which played a conspicuous part in the politics and history of western Asia in the age of the Later Assyrian Empire, but of which the very existence was unknown and unsuspected before the decipherment of the cuneiform texts inscribed on the native monuments.

In Chapter IX., Dr. E. H. Minus gives an excellent account of the Scythians and Northern Nomads, their religion, dress and customs. In the struggle between the Assyrians and Maunai on the one side and the Medes and Babylonians on the other, it was Scythian help that was decisive.

In Chapter X, Dr. R. Campbell Thompson traces the fortunes of the New Babylonian empire

that rose under Nabopolassar who revolted against his Chaldean masters, until it in turn fell before the Persians. In Chapter XI, the same author gives a succinct and comprehensive account of the influence of Babylonia, the rich cultural legacy which the world inherited from the three thousand years of Assyrian and Babylonian history.

In Chapter XII, Dr. H. R. Hall takes us to Egypt at the close of the Imperial period when it was no longer the land of mighty kings and statesmen, great builders and warriors, but the spirit of tribal chieftainship was introduced anew by Libyan chiefs, the 'great chiefs of Ma' and the others who possessed themselves of the rich lands of the Nile in the time of the XXIst Dynasty. A brief account of Egypt in its decline under the XXIst, XXIInd and XXIIIrd dynasties is followed by an account of the Ethiopian and Assyrian invasions and occupation of that country till the assumption of full Pharaonic dignity in 661-660 B. C. by the Psamatic vassal of the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal and the final catastrophe of a new Hyskos invasion—a new conquest by Asiatics who despised the gods of Egypt and defiled her temples.

In Chapter XIV, Dr. Hall tells the story of the Restoration of Egypt under the Saite princes of the XXVIth dynasty who were commercially inclined and gave much attention to the furtherance of trade, and under whom Egypt was rapidly becoming wealthy again and the arts of peace began to flourish anew until the conquest of Egypt

by the Persians under Cambyses when Egypt thus became a province of the Persian Empire.

In Chapter XV, Dr. Hall gives a succinct account of Oriental Art in Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Assyria and Babylonia during the Saite Period of Egyptian history.

In Chapter XVI., Dr. R. N. Stewart Macalister describes the Topography of Jerusalem, and gives an account of the growth of the city. In Chapter XVII, Dr. Stanley A. Cook gives an account of Israel and the neighbouring states; and in Chapters XVIII, XIX and XX, the same accomplished writer describes the Fall and Rise of Judah, Israel before the Prophets, and the Prophets, respectively. In Chapter XIX, Mr. D. G. Hogarth gives an account of Lydia and Ionia from their rise to the Lydian conquest of Ionia, and the final overthrow of the Empire of Crœsus by Cyrus of Persia.

In Chapter XXII, Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery describes the Growth of the Dorion States.—In Chapter XXIII, Dr. E. A. Gardens and M. Cary give an account of Early Athens, its topography, history, constitution, social condition and culture. In Chapter XXIV., Dr. Cary gives an account of the the early history of Northern and Central Greece in five sections, headed respectively Thessaly, Bœotia, Locris and Phocis, Eubœa, and Delphi.

In Chapter XXV, Dr. J. L. Myers gives an illuminating account of the Colonial Expansion of

ancient Greece, and, finally in Chapter XXVI, Prof. F. S. Adcock describes the Growth of the Greece City-State. At the end are appended exhaustive bibliographies for each chapter, Chronological Notes, a list of the Kings of Sparta from C. 800 B. C., a Chronological Table to Chapter XXII-XXV, a General Index, a Index to Maps given in the book, and an Index of Biblical Passages. Besides its absorbing interest for the student of history, the book will, we are sure greatly interest the cultured general reader as well.

The Essentials of Mental Measurement.—By William Brown, M. A., M. D., D. Sc. M. R. C. P., and Godfrey H. Thomson, D. Sc., Ph. D. (Third Edition.) 1925. (University Press, Cambridge) PP. X+224. Price 17 s. 6 d. net.

We accord a hearty welcome to the third edition of this excellent volume of *The Cambridge Psychological Library*.

Experimental psychology is a science of comparatively recent growth. Owing to their instability, complexity and heterogeneity, the possibility of measuring psychical phenomena has been doubted by many psychologists. Fechner thought that the conditions of measurement, viz, (1) homogeneity of phenomena and (2) the possibility of finding a unit in terms of which the measurement may be made were satisfied by strictly psychical phenomena of sensation-intensity. This view, though definitely

rejected by many psychologists of note of the present century, is nonetheless not wanting in supporters, and the authors of the book under review contend that measurement of purely psychical phenomena is not an impossibility. They discuss the Weber-Fechner law of sensation-intensities according to which $d(\text{sensation}) = C \frac{d(\text{Stimulus})}{\text{Stimulus}}$ and come to the conclusion that the assumptions on which Fechner based this formula were all questionable and that on the whole the balance of evidence is in favour of the 'difference hypothesis'. In the 3rd chapter the authors point out that there are two essentially different things which are commonly confused under the heading psychophysical methods, viz, the method of experimenting in order to obtain data and the process of calculation after the data have been collected. The book then discusses the relative merits of the various methods of mental measurement, viz, the methods of limits and of average error and the constant method, and points out that in the matter of choice of a process of calculation very frequently of course there is no choice, for the conditions of experiment fix the matter for us. In the 4th chapter the authors discuss the skewness and heretogeneity of psychical data and come to the conclusion that the difficulties of psycho-physical experiment is such that homogeneity in the data is rare. The 'curve fitting methods' are however of value in discovering homogeneity. The book then discusses the mathematical theory of cor

tion and the influence of selection thereon. The 10th chapter deals with the theory of general ability, and the conclusion to which the authors come is that Thomson's sampling theory of ability is preferable to Spearman's theory of 'two factors', because the former is more elastic and wider and is in closer accord with the theories in use in Biology and in the study of heredity. The book closes with valuable appendices, an exhaustive bibliography and a good index, and is really invaluable for students of psycho-physics.

BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,

Church Road, Ranchi.

1. THE BIRHORS : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608 with 36 plates. (Ranchi: "MAN IN INDIA" Office, 1925.) Price Rs. 10/- ; 15 s.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes:—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities as mark your former monographs on the Mundas and Oraons. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes:—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes:—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most
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No. 4.

I. THE RACES AND TYPES OF THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL HIMALAYAS.

By

DR. BARON E. VON EICKSTEDT.

Two papers have appeared lately which, taken in connection with previous publications, enable us to present the outlines of the physical anthropology of the Western Himalayas. The first of these is Prof. Renato Biasutti's very careful and extensive study on "The Somatic Types of the Population of the Upper Indus Valley" (1925, in Italian) where the rich material, collected by Prof. G. Dainelli during the de Filippi Expedition, is elaborated, and the second is a short paper on the inhabitants of British Garhwal by the present writer (1926, a).

Among the earlier authors on the anthropography of the region in question, of special importance are de Ujfalvy, Joyce and Holland. The Hungarian traveller Charles de Ujfalvy visited Kashmir and the valleys of the Upper Indus in the year 1881, making for the first time systematic anthropological investigations there and

publishing his results in 1884 and 1896 (see bibliography). These books were for a long time the basis of our knowledge on the subject, though, as we shall see, there are many lesser notes besides, scattered throughout literature. It was only in 1912 that this work of Ujfalvy was supplemented by J. A. Joyce's thorough analysis of the measurements of Pamir peoples, which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his great and successful journey in 1906-08. Last, but not least, we are indebted to T. H. Holland for his excellent study of the hybrid population of Lahoul and of the Kanets of Kulu (1902). This is one of the best investigations of racial hybridism in men that we possess, though it was written at a time when our knowledge of heredity was still scanty. It is an interesting fact that the second Mendelian law, which the author indeed substantiates, was as yet wholly unknown to him under this name.

Race and Type.

Before commencing a short description of the physical appearance of the peoples of the Western Himalayas and the resulting distribution of racial types, some prefatory remarks on the ways and methods of anthropological observation will be useful. For, when comparing the earlier and the modern authors critically it generally appears that the former pursued quite another aim in their somatic observations than the latter. And it becomes evident that misunderstandings thereby frequently result in modern anthropology and

especially in the treatment of anthropographical subjects by non-anthropologists. The confusion is increased by applying the same terms to different ideas. The travellers of the past century observed, before all, that the *peoples*, i. e. the cultural groups, usually showed differences in their respective somatic types; and so they sought by general description and by arithmetical averages of measurements, to ascertain the *mean type of a cultural group*. That is still evident with Ujfalvy, but may also be observed with all authors who are not anthropologically trained up to the present. The modern anthropologist on the other hand seeks to find the different (mixed) types, or to discriminate, whenever possible, the original racial components of a given cultural group. He is first of all interested in the race, i. e., the similar bodily structure of men, the same somatic group, whether it occurs in the same or in different peoples. He dissects the one general type of a cultural group to discover the *various different racial components*. The earlier anthropologists and many non-anthropologists usually work synthetically, whereas the modern representatives of the science of race mostly work analytically.

Both methods have their reasons and value; they supplement each other and are both necessary to anthropology. But it is also necessary to differentiate logically and methodically between the science of types which is working synthetically and the science of race which is working analytically.

The task of the science of types is, as the author has shown in previous papers (1923, 1925), particularly the somatic study of the occupational, social and constitutional types of men, and of the canton or "*gau* types". * All these type-groups are characterised by a mixture of races, but usually a mixture with *definite portions* of the different races. The reality of a type partly depends upon common ancestry and natural selection, partly upon environmental influences, such as food, water, soil, education, habits, and therefore is not always hereditary. A type is already characterised by the existence of some *few* traits, the race is always only characterised by the existence of every important trait. Accordingly the "best" race-specimen corresponds to an average, but the "best" type specimen to that which most shows the characteristic traits and that in the most *extreme* form. The "typical" horse-dealer or officer, Jew or Afghan, the asthenic or apoplectic,—we cannot always measure them, but by features and countenance they are plain at a glance.

It is only the *gau*-type that is of interest for the purpose of the present paper. For any trained observer, scientist or other, it is generally not difficult to recognize and place people of the different districts of his country by type. It is

* "Canton" or "*gau*" indicated in the Middle Ages a district, characterised by a certain population usually of same dialect, manners and ancestry and ruled by its own judiciary, the *gaugraf*.

easy to differentiate by type, in Europe for instance the Navarese from the Castilian, the Saxon from the Brandenburgian, the people of the valley of the Maros from those of the plain of the Alföld. In many valleys of the Alps, every old man can tell you by type from which other village or valley a strange peasant may have come, and so on elsewhere. Common ancestry, soil and habits make a common cantonal type. Thus every landscape moulds its own men and type, characterised in more or less marked way in somatic appearance and psychical behaviour. When there are clearly different racial components, it may happen that two neighbouring types are radically different. Consider the dark people of the Chiltern Hills and the blonds in the plains below (Bradbrocke and Parsons, J. A. J. 1922), or the Anthropology of the Dyfn basin in Wales (Peate, J. A. J. 1925). Every country shows many examples of this nature. But such local *types* must not be confounded with local *races*. There is the distinct quantitative difference, the *mixed* ancestry in the one, the (at least theoretically) *pure* in the other. A group of types may be only, so to speak, a race of second or third order. Undoubtedly these had their great significance in the development of mankind—but this point has already been discussed elsewhere (1925).

Kafiri.

We now turn to the statements of the different authors concerning the physical appearance of the peoples in the Western Himalayas, at the same

time considering the different views regarding type and race. Starting in the extreme West at the slopes of the Hindukush (which from a geographical point of view already oversteps the boundary of our area) we shall proceed south-eastwards. The little sketch map gives the more important names.

The group south of the Hindu-Kush in the valleys of the Kunar and the Chitral rivers comprises the Kafiri, Chitrali and Mastuji (Kho), who anthropologically form the transition to the peoples of the Himalayas proper. Ujfalvy (1884-287, 317) says that the *Kafir* (I) (=Siahposh and Safidposh) are to be placed in their somatic character with the Dards and, by reason of measurements, names them hyperdolichocephalic. Indeed in 1896 (374) he gives some measurements—but of a single man, who really is very dolichocephalic: c. i.=65.5. J. A. Joyce (1912, 469-473) gives as average only 76.8, and Bisley (1915, 395) 76.9. Therefore we may only suppose that there is a marked strain of dolichocephals—perhaps of Oriental race,¹ or less probably, of Punjab elements. Unfortunately, there are no individual measurements which might be analysed. But Joyce could show, by his Differential-Index, when analysing Sir A. Stein's material, that the Kafiri are more related to the Pathān (who surely have a strong admixture of Oriental race) than to the Pamir groups, where we have a marked percentage of short-headed inner-Asiatic

¹ In Eugen Fischer's sense (1923).

Europoids.² Moreover, both Robertson and Joyce tell us that the Kafiri contain a definitely "brown" element as regards the colour of their skin (Joyce-Stein: 22%). Therefore one may fairly adopt Robertson's view that the Kafiri are the descendents of Eastern Afghans, who subjugated the indigenous people. But Robertson does not say anything about the percentage of the latter. He indicates only that among the lower classes flat noses are more common, while, in the higher, aquiline noses are not uncommon. The latter may be of Armenoid origin, or may show the Dardic affinity. Surely Ujfalvy must have based his view of the Dardic parentage of the Kafiri on this trait, so typical for the Dard.

It is of interest that Robertson states the occurrence of light beards in men and of "blond" hair in women. Also among other peoples of that region fair hair and eyes are reported but they are very rare. This subject will be treated later.

Describing the general type of the Kafiri, Robertson says that they are dolichocephalic, leptoprosopic and of medium stature. Both Biddulph and Robertson admire the beautiful "heads of philosophers or statesman" that are met with among the Kafiri. Capus believed in the existence of two types among them—but his accounts are

² The Europaid or "white" race is also still sometimes called "Caucasian" race, after Blumenbach (1776). The "id" in Europaid, Negroid, Mongoloid shows the zoological and not linguistical term, Mongoloid etc. meaning "similar to" Mongolids etc.

* As used in this paper.

very vague. The tradition of the Kafiri themselves that they are descendents of the warriors of Alexander the Great, we may treat as mere legend. As those regions once formed part of the empire of the Sakas, many monuments of Græco-Buddhistic art are to be found there, which may have occasioned this belief, which was greatly to augment the respect for a people dwelling on the confines of that Central Asia where nearly every princeling boasts himself to be of Alexandrian ancestry.

To sum up, we may admit that the Kafiri have a strong Oriental strain, and are perhaps somewhat related to the Dards in the East and probably also to their neighbours in the north, the Chitrali. But no sure analysis is yet possible.

Chitrali.

Of a markedly different composition from the Kafiri are, so far as we can see, the *Chitrali* and their congeners the Mastuji. The principal racial element are here the short-headed, long-nosed men of Ujfalvy's "Pamir group" or Joyce's "Iranians". We may suppose that this element came from the north and represents an overflow of that short-headed eastern Dinaric variety of the great Europaid race which is found in south-western Central Asia (Turkestan). Besides, we probably have an Oriental strain. In direct opposition to the opinion of Ujfalvy who recognized

a Dardic-Kafiric affinity, Joyce states, from measurements and differential Index, that there is an affinity between Dards and Chitrali, but not between Dards and Kafiri. Probably the explanation is that Joyce, analysing the measurements, ascertained the strong difference caused by the prevailing Oriental race on the one side and the prevailing Turkestanic ("Pamiric") elements on the other, while Ujfalvy was thinking only of the general type, above all probably the aquiline nose sometimes met with among Kafiri, which is so characteristic of the Dards. This example shows how strongly the views may differ between analytical anthropometrical investigation and *gau*-typical observation!

It is curious that among some earlier observers from time to time one meets with the remark that there are "negroid" elements in the population south of the Hindukush. It is difficult to decide, if this be only the continued repetition of an unscientific "observation" or if there be indeed some rather darker-skinned remnants of an old race—surely not negroid—but perhaps more primitive, which nevertheless is not at all probable. It is a pity in this respect that our knowledge of the somatic differences of the social classes—Ujfalvy sometimes speaks of 3, sometimes of 4 (1896, 245)—is so scanty.

At any rate we may say that the population of the Chitral valleys in general is chiefly of "Pamiric"

race with an admixture of Oriental and Dardic types.

Nothing is known about the type-groups and racial elements of the valleys of the Panjkora (Bajaur, Dir) and Swat and about Kohistan (southern Dardistān). Ujfalvy counts all these peoples among the Dards. We may only suppose that there is a prevalence of Oriental elements in the West and of Dardic in the North. The adjoining regions of Buner and Hazara are alike unknown, though there are some single measurements scattered in the literature (Risley, von Eickstedt).

Dardi.

We possess a much better knowledge of the people of *Dardistan*, the Dardi or Shin. Leitner, visiting their country about 1860, and Drew, are the first who gave a general description of the type (cf. Crooke 1807, 51) and stated that these peoples are not, as one thought, of mongolid or not even mongoloid type. Afterwards Ujfalvy gave some measurements (1884, 169, 249; 1896, 254, 320) and a full description of their characteristic and homogeneous *gau*-type, and recently, Biasutti (1925) published an elaborate analysis of an easternmost section of the Dards (the Brokpa). Ujfalvy says that the Dards have long and lanky figures, faces "like birds of prey", deep-set eyes, aquiline noses and strong supra-orbital ridges frequently with connected brows ("rāzel"); they exhibit thin lips, dark and wavy hair, large hands and powerful bodies. In 1884 (285) he calls the

women, as Leitner does, pretty, in 1896 (256) he admires them no longer and finds them, as does Drew, ugly.

More important is his remark (1884,262,245), that the upper classes, the Rono, have a distinctly different somatic appearance from the mass of the people and that they may have come from the north, being of Tataric origin. This people show great size, light skin and prominent cheek bones. Their counterpart are the Dom (Choto in Nagar), whom Leitner already considered to be the aboriginal stock. Such designations as Dom—also Gujar and others—show, that at least the names of the Hindu castes have penetrated into these remote Mahometan regions. There have been some speculations as to an ethnic kinship between the Dom of Dardistan and those of the plains. All the lower classes of these peoples of the mountains, the Kafiri too, are noted for exceeding uncleanness.

Brokpa.

While there is only a general *gau*-typical description of the western Dards, we have an excellent analysis of the little eastern section, the *Brokpa*, by Biasutti. This folk already dwells in Baltistan and occupies the valleys south of the Indus up the river after the great knee which changes its direction definitely to south-east. They are reported to be Buddhists, while all the surrounding peoples are fervent Mahometans. Fifty individuals have been measured by Prof. Dainelli. Biasutti, who knows the people only by photo-

graphs and measurements, is cautious enough to leave the question open whether the types he found arise only from the more frequent combination of certain traits of different races, or there are real racial elements. In some cases Biasutti himself is of the opinion—and we will see that he is right—we have true races. Among the Brokpa he derives two types from combination and comparison of the single traits: A large, mesorrhinic, brachyprosopic, perhaps dolichocephalic not numerous people, who point to the “hill-type” (Siwalik type) of von Eickstedt (1920). As this is one of the foremost Punjab elements (von Eickstedt 1923), we see thus a far-reaching influence of the plains people, (B) the “tipo dardo”, the prevailing Dardic type with size under the average and a “*facies indo-iranica*” which is slightly brachyskelic. An aquiline nose is characteristic of this type.

It is not improbable that this element represents the nucleus of a race. Like Ujjalvy, Biasutti accentuates the uniformity of this type.

Burishki.

The *Burish(ki)* or Yeshkun, northern neighbours of the Dardi, are, as Ujjalvy states, of Dardic type. They dwell in the upper parts of the northern side-valleys of the Indus in the region of its knee. Hunza, Nagar and Yasin are their chief places. Biddulph observed red-haired individuals there. This people is socially inferior to the Dardi, as the Brokpa are to the Balti: They are famous for their archaic language, the Kajuna

or Burushaski. But their language of poetry is Shin (Dardic). So early an observer as Ujfalvy (1896, 276) already observed a difference between the Burish of Hunza and Nagar. The former are taller and more reserved, while the latter are merry and smaller, being thus similar to the Balti, who, with formidable mountains intervening, are their neighbours. Here, for the first time, mention is made of a primitive racial layer, which, as it seems, plays an important part in the composition of the physical types from the Burish, in the remotest northwest, to the Garwhali in the far central districts of the Himalayas. The height of the single Nagar individual measured by Ujfalvy, is just 1.82 cm—not at all little. But the averages of Risley ('15) show the difference very clearly: 7 Nagar 164.8 cm, 9 Hunza 170.8 cm. Some measurements are also given by Capus (Deniker '00) and Dixon ('24, 303).

The chief element of the western Burish then seems to be great dolichocephalic leptorrhinian men, whom we shall meet also with the Machnopa and the Balti.

Balti.

We now come to the Upper Indus Valley itself. Here and in the northern valleys east of the Burish is the territory of the *Balti*. Ujfalvy already (1884, 184) accentuates the fact that these are of an entirely different type from their neighbours in the south, the Dardi. Notwithstanding their Tibetan language they generally do not show a Mongoloid type. It was an error to say, that

they are of the physical type of the Ladaki and Champa (=Changpa) though repeated by Crooke (1907,52). In character they are not cunning as are the Dards, not reserved as are the Ladaki, but merry, sincere, quiet and kind. (Ujfalvy 1984,213): They pleased Ujfalvy best of all folks of the Himalayas. He describes their gau-type (1884,248; 1896,319): somewhat over middle size, forehead not very high, depression between glabella and root of nose deep nose long, lips thick, hair wavy, body powerful. They are socially superior to the Brokpa (the territory of these, high in the mountains, is surely less fertile), but they have no castes. There are said to be only three social layers: priests, peasants, craftsmen (Ujfalvy 1984, Dainelly, Preller du Riche). But it seems that there are besides these also, as with the Dardi, clans or social groups resembling castes (Ujfalvy 1896,314: 5 "castes").

Once the Balti possessed an ancient and powerful civilisation, when the Saka kings ruled in these regions and their capital Iskardo (skardo) was styled as there has been said—after the great Alexander (Iskander). * Ujfalvy measured about 43, Dainelli 150 individuals. Biasutti ('25,248) in his analysis points first to the great variability of types among the Balti, who in contrast to the Dardi, show nearly all the elements of the peoples surrounding them. But there are besides marked local differences. Very numerous is the Dardic type (B). Some-

* However, as Prof. A. H. Francke tells me, the name seems to be pure Tibetan, skar-rdo meaning meteor, or in ancient writing even skar-chung-rdo-dbyings=little star, flying stone.

times Mongolid admixtures (C) are met with : one individual among 150 had the real mongolid eyelid, but rather more frequent are yellowish skin, flat faces and the typical Mongolid proportions, short limbs and short trunk have been observed. Perhaps by chance, the early authorities of Crooke saw only such individuals, though probably also the ideas of language and race have been confused in this case (as often happens). Moreover there was (D) a short-headed and (E) a tall dolichocephalic element.

But of special importance is element (F) : diminutive mesorrhinic but not short-armed. They form the majority in the valleys of the Shigar and Braldo (Askole)—N. B. the neighbouring Nagars!—and are numerous also in the chief valleys of the Indus. As it is impossible to derive this combination of traits from other types, Biasutti is of opinion that this element represents an ancient Himalayan layer. Probably he is right, probably there is again a compact residue of that ancient racial layer showing through in all the Western Himalayas from Nagar to Garwhal. The measurements, and even more so the photos, show a decided similarity of types in the Shigar (Biasutti 1925, 7 ab. 'F., Fo) and Upper Ganges valley (Garhwal, von Eickstedt 1926, Fig. 2-4, esp. 5). Holland (1902) noted related types in Kulu, and it is interesting that everywhere the psychical traits are also identical and Ujfalvy, Holland, and von Eickstedt are alike impressed by the agreeable manners of this people. There

are indications that we have here an ancient pre-Aryan racial element which probably formed the fundamental racial constituent of the old Khas people (cf. Kash-mir, Kash-gar, Kashi=Benares). As it seems that this component is preserved fairly pure in Garhwal, it may be styled *Garhwal race*.

Machnopa.

It is worth noticing that farther up-stream the *Machnopa* show no traces of Mongolid admixture, though immediately eastward they border on the strongly Mongoloid Ladakhi, and westward among the Balti are at least Mongolid traces. The reason for this phenomenon must anyhow be connected with the anthropo-geographical conditions of the regions, where probably parts of the valleys themselves, with narrow defiles, are less accessible than the lesser ranges above. Therefore colonisation or political extension may often have advanced across the mountains more readily and then descended the slopes. This is clearly shown in the case of the Brokpa, who chiefly occupy certain upper valleys south of the Indus, contiguous to the domains of the other Dardi. They must have come across the mountains, and there is no reason to regard them as degenerate and driven aside, as Ujfalvy does in 1896, 328, (he does *not* say so immediately after his journey in 1884!). But they may have settled much later than the Baltis who occupy one of the most fertile and therefore early colonised parts of the Western Himalayas. Perhaps it has been similar with the population

of the valleys of Nagar and Shigar, though the mountains are very high here and clad with glaciers.

The Dardic type is most common among the Machnopa and causes a certain similarity between these and certain Brokpa and Balti. Ujfalvy simply includes them among the Dardic peoples. Less often we meet with "Indo-iranian" short-heads (D) of Pamiric affinity, and tall leptorrhine dolichocephalics (E) of Siwalik affinity. But sufficiently common are, besides the prevailing Dardic type, here also those short mesorrhinians we encountered with the Balti of Scigar, i. e. the Garhwal race.

Purigi.

While in the western lateral valleys of the Suro there seems to remain a Dardic population, we have the Purigi in the eastern valleys, directly south of Machnopa. Ujfalvy does not differentiate between Balti and Purigi. The bulk of the population among the latter consists of types of the Garhwal race. Here this element is even more concentrated than in the valley of the Shigar. It is this people which cause the similarity in type between the Nagar, Balti and Purigi. Dardic types however are not entirely lacking, and, owing to the easy accessibility of these regions from the south—they border the valley of Srinagar—there are some admixtures of the Siwalik type too. Finally, we sometimes meet Mongolid traces, which must have arrived across the mountains, as the direct route through the

valleys is barred by the Machnopa. But as for the racial element by far the most common is that of the ancient Garhwal race.

Ladaki.

Among the *Ladaki*, inhabitants of Leh, the capital of Little or Western Tibet, the Mongolid element becomes predominant. Ujfalvy (1884, 184, 196, 320) describes the *gau*-type of the Ladaki as follows: middle-sized, sturdy, the face cornered and angular, with prominent cheekbones and oblique slit eyes, the ears large and standing off. Judging by this they seem to be pure Mongolids. But this is not the case, as is most clearly shown by the cephalic index. Taking the means of Biasutti (not of Ujfalvy, who included in his "Ladaki" also Machnopa and Purigi) we find for 150 Balti 75.7, 50 Ladaki 77.9, 50 Changpa 83.1. The gradual transition is very marked. The fact is, that besides the dominant Mongolid element we have in Ladak and Zaskar both an admixture of the Dardic and the Siwalik elements. Perhaps short-headed Pamir-people are not absent, while the Garhwal race at least is not noticeable in this conglomerate with the dominant Mongol element or elements.

Changpa.

The *Chagpa* lead a nomadic life in the higher valleys of the easternmost Indus River, where no cultivation is possible. They live in Rupshu and Tibet proper, and in the neighbourhood of the great Pangong Lake. Though they are much purer Mongolids than the Ladaki, foreign elements

are not wanting. It is questionable if there are still Dardic admixtures, but a Pamiric strain, though not important, seems to be present. It is very interesting that the analysis also shows two types for the Mongolid race: one brachyschelic, brachycephalic, brachyprosopic, which is short and mesorrhinic, and a second one which is rather taller, is leptorrhinic and mesatischelic, mesocephalic and dolichoprosopic. This dimorphism already attracted the attention of Ujfalvy (1884, 221). Farther eastward we have only Tibetans, which in fact the Changpa are too. Some measurements have been taken by Risley in the east, and by Dainelli of people from Lhasa. The averages are given for comparison at the end of this article, where a table presents a short account of the anthropometrical work in the regions in question.

Kashmir.

Returning to the south we come to Kashmir. While the anthropography of those barren mountain tracts in the north is well known, we possess only a scanty knowledge of the race-composition of the beautiful and fertile basin of Srinagar. Ujfalvy, it is true, made measurements in "Kashmir". In 1884 he gives as the average of the cephalic index of 30 Pandits 71.02, of 30 "Kashmiris" 70.3; in 1896 he speaks only of 20 Pandits with 71.9 and 20 "Kashmiris" with 72.5. (It is a pity that such contradictions, and other minor defects, rather often appear in the works of this traveller): Troll (1890, 240) records the

measurements of one single Kashmir caravan leader—but this is inadequate even for the most general conclusions. Neve (1913) speaks of some anthropometrical work of his own, but the results do not seem to be published yet. It is interesting that Ujfalvy (1884,149) speaks of measurements taken by his Highness the late Maharadja Ranbir Singh himself, who, as he said during the audience, had a lively interest in anthropological inquiries and drew conclusions from his work.

It is known that the Kashmiri exhibits an especially characteristic type. He is easily recognisable everywhere, as is the Jew in Europe or the Afghan and Armenian in Asia. Ujfalvy (1884,153) describes this gau-type as follows: size above medium, body powerful and muscular, skull voluminous, eyes dark and brilliant, nose long and straight, lips thin, long integumental upper lip, the face with rich beard, oval and bearing the stamp of intelligence and cunning. Thus the Kashmiri is physically a very beautiful creature, though his character is often not much valued. Famed for their beauty are also the women, but they are less graceful than their sisters of the plains. Nevertheless their light complexion with even rosy cheeks has at all times enchanted the people of the more southern lands. Besides the type of the common Kashmiri there exists the type of the Kashmir Brahman, the Pandit, which is among the noblest of the Aryan settlers of northwest India. His high forehead and almond eyes, black or brown wavy hair, small mouth and ears,

delicate wrist and foot-joints, his high stature and light complexion show his difference from the Mahometan Kashmiri at once. There are, of course, many castes among both.

To Kashmir, as we know, settlers from the plains have come early, who presumably have been of the type of the modern Jāt, the Punjāb cultivator. No wonder, that the types reproduced by Lawrence (1895), clearly show the somatic influence of the south and that we could assert the occurrence of a dolichocephalic tall race up to the remotest corners of the Western Himalayas. There are, moreover, as Ujfalvy already observed, traces of the Dardic type, and, we may suppose, the Garhwal type also, though local differences will play an important part. It may be that the original substratum of the Kashmir population was Dardic (Shin). For it is not impossible that this type formed the bulk of that Aryan population which once crossed the Pamirs and spread its language—despised by the Aryans of the plains as that of the “flesh-eaters”, the Pisacha—to the lands between Kafiristan and Kashmir. Pisacha or Shina dialects are still spoken in some parts of Kafiristan, in Chitral (Khowār), and Gilgit (Shina). And Shina is the basis of the languages of Kohistan, Swat and Kashmir, though now nearly entirely superseded by Pushtu or Lahnda (western Punjabi). Moreover, there is a distinct admixture of Oriental race. The Mahometan invasions may have introduced this race, related to the Punjab type, but probably the afflux is still older.

Surely the Dardic-Oriental mixture is the source of a striking phenomenon often observed: the quasi-Jewish features of the Kashmiri, especially of the old men. (Lawrence 1895, 318). This makes the hooked Dardic nose in the Oriental face, which creates a similarity to the effect of the hooked Armenoid nose in the more or less Oriental face of the western Hebrew. Thus it is a Punjabic-Dardic-Oriental *mixtum compositum* which seems to form the mass of the inhabitants of Kashmir proper—but exact knowledge is still wanting.

Blonds.

Not seldom the occurrence of "blonds" is recorded from Kashmir and the adjacent regions. Marco Polo did not know them, for speaking of the women of Kashmir, he says: "taking them as brunets they are very beautiful". (To him, the mediaeval North-Italian, only the blond woman could be *really* beautiful). Nevertheless grey eyes seem to occur, and the beards of the Pandits, descendants of very old families, are sometimes of a somewhat lighter brown. Robertson says the same of the Kafir men, and speaks even of "blond" Kafir women. Individuals with light hair and eyes are even found so far as Hoshiarpur at the Siwalike (Sikh Nr. 58, von Eickstedt 1920: hair—Fischer Nr. 4-115: eyes—Martin Nr. 8). Ujfalvy, while denying in 1884 the existence of blonds among Kafiri and Chitrali, and admitting only the occurrence of red-haired individuals as among the Burish, regards them as proved in 1896.

He traces their origin back to the Usun (for Kashmir and Chitral) or the Saka (for Baltistan). We know from the Chinese annals that indeed there were frequently blond dolichocephalics among the Central Asiatic barbarians, as e.g. the Usun and Yue-chi. ("Green" eyes, "red" beards, "heads of horses"). Wonderful pictures at Turfan prove their existence till up to almost recent times.

As some of these tribes, especially the Saka, who spoke an Aryan language, poured down into Northern India, it is quite possible that these blonds are remnants of early waves of barbarian northerners. Of course such a denomination as "Saka" or "Usun" is always a collective noun, meaning a variegated medley of most different tribes and fragments of tribes which followed the banner of a powerful chief (cf. Franke 1904). Thus, e. g. the "blond" Usun were at first a small tribe growing rapidly to historical importance and assimilating many once independent tribes to their political and linguistic standard—later to be in their turn dislodged, destroyed, absorbed. These peoples were always very heterogeneous as regards their ethnological and anthropological composition, and their languages—so far as being without written records—rapidly changed in wartime. It may be well accepted that the blonds among the Usun (Haddon 1911, 16) and other peoples of Central Asia were the descendants of the old Chudes of Southern Trans-baikalia.

Kanets.

About the tracts in the south-east of Srinagar

much is not known. The cephalic index of 20 "Pahari" (=hill-men) of *Kishtwar*, measured by Ujfalvy, was 71.3 (1896, 387). The population of *Jhamba* may be of the same composition as that of the adjoining districts of Kangra, (esp. of Kulu, not of *Spiti*),—the "Kanets", of whom Holland (1902) notes that "they are said to be almost pure Tibetans".

Much better information exists about Kulu and Lahoul, also a land of *Kanets*. These are a low-caste cultivating class of the Punjab Himalayas, and the hills at their base, while the ruling class are hill Rajputs (Dogras) "of prehistoric ancestry", according to Crooke (1896, III, 133). The *Kanets* also claim to be of impure Rajput origin, but there is little doubt that they are really of aboriginal stock. Cunningham asserts "that they belong to the great Khasa race which before the Aryan invasion occupied the whole sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and which, driven up the hills by the advancing wave, of immigration, now separates the Aryans of India from the Turanians of Tibet".

These are the men of our Garhwal race. Of course they are often mixed—see *Spiti*—and have also classes among themselves, the *Khasiya* and the *Rao*. Hodgson (1833), often quoted, declares the former in Nepal to be hybrids of the aboriginals and of Brahmans who fled from the Mahometan persecutions in the 12th century. But in Kulu the social distinction is nearly non-existent and there is no physical difference (Holland).

In the Mahabharata, the Khas are still called inhabitants of the Punjab, and Babar in his famous chronicle writes that the people in the hills of Kashmir are called Khas or Kash (cf. Kashmir, Kash-gār, Kashi=Benares, Hindukush).

In this connection it is worthy of note that just in these regions some remnants of very old languages also survive, the "complex pronominalised Himalayan languages". They have in the main Tibeto-Burman character, but they show, as Grierson (Census 'II, I 329) points out, manifest traces of an older substratum of Munda tongues. These linguistic affinities with the aboriginals of Central India are to be found in Chamba, Lahaul and Bashahr; the chief western representatives being Manchat, Rangloi, Bunan, Kanash and Kanawari. Did Munda peoples, coming from the east, once rule in these regions?—Have they any indirect connection with the Khas? We do not yet know.

Kulu, Lahoul.

All observers agree that the Kanets are a very kind people. Holland says that they are the happiest people he had seen in all India. Ujfalvy says that the women are of sweet character and, especially in Kulu and Mundi, nice-looking and graceful. Gore thinks all the Kulu very kind. It is known that their manners and the morals of married life are other than those in usage in Europe, the conception of the bond of wedlock being looser. Illustrations and measurements show that the Kanets of Kulu (speaking the Hindi dialect of

Pahari) closely resemble in type the Purigi and Garhwali. The chief constituent is a short dolichocephalic mesorrhinic element, though an admixture of taller men of the Siwalik type is very probable.

But in the north, in Lahoul (where the language is an old Tibetan) the type shows a distinct Mongolid admixture. These circumstances led Holland, as early as 1902, to an admirable "study in contact-metamorphism". He shows clearly that an individual with one definite Mongolid character may have all his other traits from a non-Mongolid race, the traits of the constituent races being entirely split up in the population. There was not a single Lahouli purely Tibetan in *all* bodily measurements. Though it was not possible to define the quantitative share of each component, the impression the Lahouli give is clearly that of Tibetised Hindu, and not the reverse (which we saw in the Ladaki). Moreover there seem to exist Lahoulis without any Mongolid traces, for Ujfalvy was much astonished that Harcourt called them hybrids of Tibetans and "Aryans", those he saw "showing in physical appearance nothing in common with the Tibetans" (1884, 47). As yet there do not exist any studies concerning the different *types* of both the racial groups in these regions. Sometimes we meet in the literature the assertion that there are very dark low-caste individuals of perhaps an older subjugated racial stratum.

The type of the population of the *Simla Hill*

States, of *Tehri*, *Garhwal* and *Bashār* will probably not differ appreciably from that of *Kulu*, though we may presume an admixture of the *Siwalik* element of the *East Punjab* type in the south and of *Mongolid* elements in the north.

Garhwali.

We are now reaching *British Garhwal*, the race of which gave the name to a very definite ancient type scattered through all the *Western* and *Central Himalayas*. There are in the little towns settlers from the plains and in the northernmost barren mountains nomadic Tibetans, the so-called *Bhōtiyas* (*Bhōt*=*Tibet*). But all the other beautiful country is occupied by the autochthonous race, among whom we again meet the *Dōm* as "a part of the great *Khas* tribe" and as it is said, allied to the *Dōms* of the plains. Moreover there are many *Rājput*s and *Brāhmans*, but these are generally only aboriginals who adopted the proud titles of the plainsmen when *Hinduism* spread in the mountains. There seems to be extremely slight foreign admixture so that the analysis of a group of *Garhwali* created the opportunity for the discovery of a very interesting biological law, which seems to regulate the formation of the proportions of the human body (von *Eickstedt* 1926).

The *Garhwali* are a short and thick-set people, cheerful, merry, attentive, and very kind. Their skin-colour is brown, varying widely (between von *Luschan* Nr. 11-17) probably in a certain accordance with the altitude of habitat. The head is

relatively large, dolichocephalic or mesocephalic, mesorrhinic. The face occasionally shows a great bigonial breadth, while the full and straight forehead is somewhat narrow. The lips of the large mouth are thick, the nose straight. Racial type and gau-type are the same in this case. Some measurements are given by Schlaginweit (1876), Gray (1902) and the author (1926).

We may assume the prevalence of this type in the eastern district of the Kumaon Division too, in *Almorā* and the northern part of Naini Tal. Nevertheless, in the Duns and especially in the Tarai jungles, all along the foot of the Himalaya from the Siwaliks to far eastward along Nepal, we have other ethnic elements, being mostly low-caste wandering tribes or remnants of fugitives from the plains as the Tharu, Banjara and others. Regular settlements are but few in the very unhealthy swampy lowlands of the Tarai jungles. In some tracts of Almora and even so far south as Naini Tal rude Mongolid types are met with. From this we learn that we have reached the confines of the western half of the Himalayas with their prevailing Europaid races (or, to use the linguistic term: "Aryan population") and are entering the eastern half, which down to the foot of the mountains is occupied by a people of Mongolid parentage. The somatic character of these peoples dominates in the north-east of India, shows its clear traces in the lower Doab and, since prehistoric times, has established its influence or even predominance in the very heart of

India, once probably reaching the western seas. Of course, this Mongolid block is divided into many secondary races.

Nepal.

The prevalence of the Mongolid race in *Nepāl* is very obvious. Nevertheless there are many "Gurkhas" of all tribes who betray Europaid blood or who, especially in the western districts, are entirely primitive Europaid types. The observers sees clearly that the Garhwal race only slowly shades off into the Mongolid races of the east. Accordingly, the old name of the Khas is often found among the tribes of Nepal. There can be no doubt that analytical work would bring out marked differences in the different regions and its various castes and tribes. The highest classes of the kingdom, hailing from Rajputana (Udaipur a. o.) markedly show the Europaid type of North-western India, sometimes betraying mongolid admixtures. (Good photos in Ballantine's). The Newars who form the bulk of the people, and the Gurung in the West obviously have a strong strain of the Garhwal race, others, like the Bhutia (in the higher mountains, cf. Bhotiya), Limbu (more in the East), Kerati and Lepcha are more mongolid, especially in the east and north. The so-called "Gurkhas" partly may probably be regarded as mongolised Rajputs. Risley's measurements were carried out mostly in the east, the author's (about 800 measurements upon 155 Nepalese) are mostly of people taken from the west. Both collections are not yet analysed. Some averages

are given in the short general table at the end of this paper.

Summary.

The Distribution of the Races and Types.—To sum up: We saw that in the anthropological study of the normal types of men four categories can be differentiated, viz. :

- (1.) the gau-type, characteristic of the inhabitants of a certain district or canton,
- (2.) the social type, characteristic of the individuals of the same social stratum or occupation,
- (3.) the combination type, characteristic of groups of individuals, showing, in a race mixture more or less similar traits.
- (4.) the racial type, characteristic of groups of individuals with like somatic and psychic traits and (at least theoretically) of the same descent.

Gau-types.

What most interested us were the first, and the first and the last, i. e. gau-type and race. The process of our examination led us to the discrimination of certain well recognisable gau-types. Such characteristic local mixed types could be found especially in Kashmir, in Dardistan, and in Garhwal, though it seems that the Kafiri, Burish of Nagar, the Balti of the Shigar valleys, the Purigi, Machnopa, and Kulu-Kanets are fairly well characterised special local types too. A "typical" i. e. extreme case of a gau-type is illustrated by the Oriental—Punjabi-Dardic race-mixture of

Kashmir, whereas probably in the case of the Dards and undoubtedly in that of the Garhwali, gau-type and race in the main coincide.

Mongolids

The most prominent feature of the racial distribution in the Western Himalaya is brought out by the contact of two of the main racial groups of mankind, the so-called white or Europaid and the so-called yellow or Mongolid race. As in all times and places, the geomorphological conditions of the surface play an important part, as has been shown by examples.

All along the borders of the plateau of Tibet, seldom reaching far down into the valleys of the southern Himalaya, we have different *types of the Mongolid race*. Appearing pure in the Champa and Tibetans proper, they are somewhat modified by contact-metamorphism in the Ladaki and much more in the Lahouli and are to be found only in faint traces among the Balti, Purigi and some other mountain people. From the eastern end of the Western half of the Himalaya, mongolid elements also begin to predominate in the southern valleys. The further we advance to the east, the more we perceive an overflow of primitive mongolid types, which once even flooded the eastern plains and pushed forward to the centre of India, leaving plain traces everywhere.

Gharwal Race.

But the most interesting feature of the anthropography of the north western regions, for

the establishment of which the present little paper has been written, is the existence of an ancient pre-Aryan racial stratum in the inner belt of the Himalayas, all along the border of Mongolid influence. This is the *Garhwal race*. It shows through everywhere from the Burish Nagar in the far northwest to the confines of Nepal in the eastern central tract. Once probably the chief racial component of the Khas people, the name of which survives in the names of castes and places in the regions of its distribution, it was also wide-spread in the plains of northern India. With the slowly advancing waves of Aryan settlers from the west, the old indigenous race was pushed back or overlaid and was gradually shoved into the mountains, but here also partly soon dispersed as in Kashmir; it was entirely absorbed in the western plains and is even now exposed to a slow process of decomposition as in Lahoul, or is over-laid by other races, as in Baltistan or the Simla Hill States. By all observers, at all times and in all regions the physical and psychical traits of this race, as yet unknown in its connection, has been described with surprisingly general agreement. Though there may be slight differences among the widely scattered types in east and west it is to be presumed that certain sociological and ethnological similarities also accompany this race. While its distribution is not yet clear among the Kafiri and Dardi, it comes out distinctly in the Nagar and the Balti of the Shigar, is dominating among the Purigi

and the the Kanets of Kulu, is found pure in Garhwal and thence shades off into the mongolid elements of Nepāl. The physical type and character has been described in the discussion of the Garhwali.

Dardic race.

Then there is a second element which must be regarded as indigenous in the Western Himalaya, viz. the *Dardic race*. It is very probable, especially from the investigations of Biasutti, that it is not only a combination-type but forms the bulk of an independent sub-race itself.

The real centre of its distribution, Dardistān, is, nevertheless, scarcely known. Of course, it is predominant among the Brokpa, but its traces could also be shown in the north among the people of Hunza and the Balti, in the West among the Kafri, in the east especially among the Machnopa and in the South in Kashmir. The type has been described in speaking of the Brokpa.

Moreover three foreign types, besides the *one* complex border-type, and the *two* aboriginal races, we still have the influence of *three* foreign races. They are, first, the *Oriental race* represented strongly among the Kafri, not seldom in Kashmir, and traceable as far north as Chitral; next, the *Pamir type*, an offshoot of that European type of Dinaric affinity, which characterises most of the peoples of Turkestan, prevailing among the Mastuji and Chitrali, but also scattered among the Kafri, Balti, Machnopa and perhaps even the Ladaki; and,

the third is the *Punjab type*, especially the north eastern sub-type of the Siwaliks, the influence of which is marked in Kashmir and traceable among the Brokpa, Balti, Machnopa and some other peoples.

Social Types.

It remains only to refer to the reports of somewhat vague observations of a dark-skinned low stratum among the Kafiri, Chitrali, Balti, Kulu and others, sometimes said to be related to the Döm, and to the statement of the dominant stratum of the Rōno in Dardistan and the Dogras (Hill-Rājputs) in the Punjab Himalayas. As the uncertain type of the "Döm" may, and as the Rōno certainly does, so the Kashmir Brāhman or Pandit represent an example of social type.—Finally, the occurrence of blonde types is to be noticed all over the western Himalaya, they seem to be the remnants of invasions of northern Inner-Asiatic barbarians.—

Thus, as has been sought to show in the foregoing paper, the rough outlines of an anthropography of the Western and Central Himalayas are just about discernible, there are still wide gaps and breaks, there is much uncertainty and vagueness—a vast deal remains to accomplish!

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1 map.

Some Measurements of Tribes of the Western and Central Himalayas.

Tribe	Stature	Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Number	Author.
Balti, in general	162.2	75.7	70.0	147	Biasutti and Dainelli
Balti, in general	157.7	...	...	(few)	Cunningham
Balti, in general	161.4	...	72.9	5	Troll
Balti, in general	161.9	74.9	68.3	73	de Ujfalvy
Brokpa	163.4	75.9	70.6	49	Biasutti and Dainelli
Burishki, Nagar	164.8	75.4	63.3	7	Risley
" Hunza	170.8	78.8	72.3	9	Risley
Burishki, in general	168.8	77.2	68.2	18	Biasutti and Dainelli
Changpa	162.1	83.1	72.2	47	Biasutti and Dainelli
" Rupshu					
lower class	154.6	...	...	(few)	Cunningham
" " higher class	158.7	...	...	...	Cunningham
Chitralli	168.5	80.3	64.3	22	Joyce & Stein
Dardi	164.7	76.1	64.6	39	de Ujfalvy
Garhwali	159.8	76.8	73.8	13	von Eickstedt
" "	...	75.9	...	6	Gray
Gurung (Eastern Nepal)	169.8	81.6	78.5	28	Risley
" " "	161.9	80.0	76.6	15	von Eickstedt
" (Western Nepal)	162.3	79.6	75.3	27	von Eickstedt
"Gurkha", in general	...	75.4	...	6	Gray
" "	161.7	82.7	73.4	69	von Eickstedt
" "	167.2	...	...	12	Schlagintweit
Kanets, Kulu	165.4	74.3	74.0	60	Holland
" Lahul	161.8	77.5	66.4	30	Holland
Kafiri	166.8	76.4	68.8	25	Joyce & Stein
" "	167.1	76.9	68.9	6	Risley
Kashmiri, in general	...	72.5	...	20	de Ujfalvy
" Pandits	...	71.9	...	20	de Ujfalvy
Khambu	157.1	81.0	70.6	32	Risley
Ladaki, in general	163.5	...	72.8	24	Troll
" "	163.0	76.7	75.5	26	de Ujfalvy
" "	164.1	77.9	75.0	47	Biasutti and Dainelli
" " lower class	156.2	...	...	(few)	Cunningham
" " higher class	165.6	...	...	...	Cunningham
Mastuji	166.6	80.6	72.1	28	Joyce & Stein
Machnopa	164.4	76.9	72.3	44	Biasutti and Dainelli

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Tribe	Stature	Cepha- lic Index	Nasal Index	Num- ber	Author.
Mogar (Eastern Nepal)	158.7	79.0	76.6	35	Risley
Newar (Eastern Nepal)	161.4	81.5	73.3	13	Risley
Nubra	159.3	...	...	(few)	Cunningham
Purigi	159.8	...	79.2	6	Troll
"	159.7	75.4	74.7	47	Risley
Sarikoli	163.8	81.9	71.9	40	Joyce & Stein
Sikh of Siwaliks	168.0	72.0	70.0	25	von Eickstedt
Thapa (W. Nepal)	161.7	80.6	71.5	45	von Eickstedt
Tibetans, Eastern Tibet	163.3	81.0	73.9	103	Risley
" , Lhasa	161.5	81.3	72.6	11	Risley
" , Lhasa	162.1	82.1	73.0	6	Biasutti and Dainelli
" , Lhasa	159.0	...	63.5	3	Troll

II. SOME NOTES ON THE MARING NAGAS OF MANIPUR.

By C. GIMSON, I. C. S.

The Sageis or clan-divisions in Maring Naga villages are as follow :—

<i>Phunan</i>	<i>Lamlong</i>	<i>Khudee khulen</i>
Khulpuwā	Khulpuwā	Khulpuwā
Dāngsowā	Dāngsowā	Dāngsowā
Kānsawā	Tantāngā	Tantāngā
Hleyowā	..	Hleyowā
Kungnga	Yunglāmā	Kānsawā
...	...	Lamthakā
		(close to Khulpuwā)
<i>Khumbi</i>	<i>Khoibu</i>	<i>Yongkhun</i>
Dāngsawā	Tantāngā	Same as Khoibu
Charāng-ngā	Charāng	Omitting Charāng
	Khongsā	and Rung-lo.
Tantāngā	Khel-ling	
	Dangsawā	
	Shakā	
	Rung-lo	

Most of the Maring Nagas have Manipuri names for their *sageis*, but I have not given these because they varied considerably in identifying the Manipuri and Maring names. Khulpuwa was generally identified as Ningthouja, and Dāngsawā as Arongja ; but, there was great diversity in the others. Marriage within the *sagei* is nominally not permitted ; but it can be condoned by a payment

varying from one pig to one mithan and is then recognised as a lawful union. A man of any *sagei* may marry a woman of any other *sagei* except in Khoibu, where Chārang, Khongsā and Dangsawā (pronounced Dāng-shā by Khoibu) may not intermarry.

So far as I could trace, the origin of the *sageis* is not known, except that it was generally recognised that Khulpuwa was a man once. The Khulpuwa *sagei* may not eat goat. Hodson (*Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 177) says that this is the Khul-lakpa's clan; but it is not necessarily so. At Lamlong the Khul-lakpa does not belong to Khulpuwa clan and may eat goat. At Phunan (where, apparently, Hodson's enquiries were mostly made) the Khul-lakpa is a Khulpuwa. At Lamlong I was told that Khulpuwa gave a feast and sacrificed 30 goats, which were eaten by his guests. Thereafter he said that they would eat goat no more, and they do not. It was suggested that this was the record feast up to date and that Khulpuwa put the prohibition on to prevent the record being broken. This happy idea was rather upset at Khudei Khulen where they said that Khulpuwa sacrificed three goats to his house god and then forbade the eating of goat's flesh to his clan.

From the difficulty which village elders had in remembering all the *sageis* in their villages, I gather that the importance of the clan is not strong among the Marings. Further enquiries are necessary, however.

At Lamlong I was told that the Hleyowa *sagei* will not eat tiger, cat, dog, crow or king-crow (Manipuri *charoi*) because they prepare pictures of these creatures on planks for the *upak-hongba* ceremony referred to elsewhere. This, however, was flatly denied at Khudei Khulen, where they said (1) that no Maring would eat the animals named, (2) that those animals were not represented at the *upak-hongba* and (3) that it is the Lamthākā *sagei* and not the Hleyowa that do the pictures for that ceremony and that the pictures are of the moon, the horse and the elephant. I was unable to make further verification of the Lamlong story.

All the Maring villages have a separate sleeping place for the unmarried men (after they have put up their hair) and the unmarried girls. There is an owner of each house, who lives in it. They marry late, often not till 25 or 30 years of age, both men and women.

The Maring story of the Toad (*uitok-purobi*, = big-bellied frog) and the Ko-me-sang (a small bird un-identified) runs as follows:—

When man was still young on the earth, the bird said to the toad, "Let men live for ever and never die". The toad replied, "That would be a bad arrangement, because there would soon be nowhere to live". "Then when they become old let them become young again", said the bird. "That will not do either", said the toad. Then the bird said, "Very well, let no man die till he is old". "No", said the toad, "That won't do either.

Some must die young, some in their prime and some when they have become old". And it has been according to the toad's word ever since. *

[Related to me at Lamlong and Khudei-Khulen. Not known by Machi, Youngkhun or Khoibu.]

I shall next describe a *Maring War Dance*, seen at Khudei Khulen on 13th October 1922.—The dancer holds a circular shield ¶ in his left hand and a *dao* in his right, the shield being of buffalo hide about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. He dances in time with a rhythmical accompaniment on drums and gongs. He holds both shield and *dao* at arm's length and with each step lets go the *dao* and grips it again. Some turned the *dao* round in their hands with this motion.

He begins by facing away from the direction in which he intends to advance, lifts his left leg and gives it a resounding smack with the shield

* There seems to be a reminiscence here of the very widespread story of the bringing of death into the world by a reptile who twisted the Creator's message so that the messenger, usually a snake or lizard, was enabled to obtain immortality by changing his skin, and man, who was intended to do so, was misled into failing to change and so dying. V. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, Vol. I, pt. i. ch. 2.

¶ The circular shield is very uncommon in this area. I do not know of its use elsewhere among Naga tribes nor do the Manipuris or Kukis use it. The Khasis have a circular shield, and, I think, use it for dancing, but the customary ornaments, four brass bosses and a crescent, the shield being of hide, suggests that it is merely adopted in their case from the plains of Sylhet, where probably the Mughals introduced it.

and then turns and advances. The advance is 2 hops on the right leg, the left being kicked up behind, then 2 hops on both legs then 2 hops on the left leg the right being kicked up behind and again 2 on both. He moves a very little way at each hop and advances in a zig-zag slowly. When he reaches the end of the course, about 8-10 yds., he turns round hopping on his right leg—giving his left another resounding thwack with his shield and proceeds back in the same way. All must be in rhythm with drums and gongs.

All the time the back is kept very straight, almost hollowed, and the dancer leans well forward sticking out his buttocks. The hops are made with the knees bent well down, whether on one foot or both—a sort of frog dance. It is said to be very exhausting and I can well believe it. The motions are made vigorously and the dancer is quite a menacing, war-like looking fellow; but the effect is rather spoilt by the fact that he gazes hard at the centre of the inside of his shield the whole time. The Marings are a peaceable folk, and this may be typical of their preference for taking cover to prosecuting a vigorous offensive.

[*N. B.* It was reported that Machi and Khunbi generally held the shield in the right hand and the *dao* in the left. I saw one man of Khunbi dancing so, and Machi admitted it to be true.]

Lamlong greeted me with roars of laughter when I asked what genders they gave to the Sun and Moon, and said they had not the vaguest idea. Khudei Khulen were quite definite that the

Sun was masculine and the Moon feminine. Youngkkun, Machi and Khoibu agree with Khudei khulen.

They have no word for an eclipse except the Manipuri *Korān*, and seem to attribute no special significance for good or ill to it. It is an act of god.

There are no chiefs. The main village officials are the Khul-lākpa, the Lub-lākpa (a sort of understudy for the Khul-lākpa) and the Khunbu; some villages have other minor officials. The Khul-lākpa is the titular head and may be the most important man in the village, but the Khunbu generally does most of the work and often appears to be the driving force. The titles are Manipuri, and the Marings have no other names for them.

(Query. Is Khunbu anything to do with the Khulpuwa *sagei*? It looks like it, but being a Manipuri name probably is not.) There are also 4 Chingsang-lākpes for the 23 Maring villages (Ching sang=range of hills). The ordinary village offices are normally hereditary, the Khul-lākpa almost necessarily so. The Khunbu's son may not inherit the title and duties if he is unsuitable, but often does. The Chingsang lākpa is selected by the various villages in the *Ching-sang*; but these seem to be a Manipuri appointment. When I was President, I appointed one Ching-sang lākpa, after calling in the villages concerned. This was a disputed election. Otherwise I might not have heard of it. The four Ching-sang lākpas

show the divisions of the Marings fairly clearly. This group speaks language similar to but distinct from the other groups. There are some varieties in the groups also—

- (1) for Yongkhun, Narum and Saibol, which are well in the hills separated from the other Maring villages;
- (2) for Khudei Khulen, Khudei Khunon and Kangoi;
- (3) for Kharon Khulen, Kharon Khunon, Lamlong-Khunon, Kampang Leibi;
- (4) for Lamlong, Khunbi Karongthen, Langol, Laijing Khulen, Laijing Minou, Phunan Sambum, Phunan, Wabaching, Thamlai and Machi.

Khoibu is not included in any of these, and is in other ways distinct from the other Marings as noted elsewhere.

These groups do not intermarry. But this remark may need some modification in the light of further research.

"My mother" is *Nu* in Yongkhun and Khoibu, *Nubi* in Machi and most of the Lamlong group (I could not find out for all) and *dada* in Khudei group and in Phunan.

Mangkat.—(marriage price) This usually consists of 3 mithan or 2 gongs of 7 spans. This is not necessarily paid at once, and may even be paid in a later generation. A woman cannot get it, unless she takes it on behalf of her son.

Yongkhun.—

5 mithan, 2 pigs, 2 goats 2 *tengkots* (brass pots),

one pukham (brass plate or dish) and 30 hoes. The 30 hoes is the custom. They could not say why.

Slavery.—There is no sign of slavery. A man may work for a time to pay off a debt, or a son-in-law may live for some years in his father-in-law's house, if he has not paid the full marriage-price. Otherwise there is no trace of a *bawi* system. Absconders from justice do not put themselves under a strong man's protection. The Marings are too law-abiding.

Cultivation.—

They have fair amount of wet-rice cultivation, for which each cultivator holds his own *patta*. There is no private property in *jhums*. If a man gives up a *jhum* after one or two years another may cultivate it. They sometimes cultivate the same *jhum* for as much as 5 or 6 years. Trees, thatching grass etc., are all village property and not private.

Origin.—

Most villages agree that they came from Mongsā (or Māngsā) in the Kabaw valley. They first settled in the hills between Kabaw and the Manipur valley, and then moved to Mairangkhom (in Imphal quite near the State office). This is apparently the origin of Col. McCulloch's idea that they came from Haobam Marak which is near Mairangkhom.

They left the Manipur plain for their present sites many generations ago.

Khudei Khulen say that they come from Kulbi Song-sang near Mongsa in the Kabaw valley.

Khoibu's origin is referred to elsewhere.

Khoibu is an interesting village and is in many ways quite different from the other Marings. Further detailed enquiries are needed about it. I saw the Khul-lakpa for one day only at Nung-tak (a Kuki village), where I had other enquiries to make. The following points are worth notice :—

1. It speaks a different language from the other groups. I could not enquire how far it was merely a dialectical difference. In other respects it seems to be nearer the Yongkhun group than the others.

2. It cannot intermarry with other Maring villages. All its marriages are in the village itself.

3. In January 1921 when I was President of the Manipur State Darbar it filed a petition for permission to go to Poi village in Falam (VANMUNG chief) in order to learn the proper way in which to worship their god, which they had forgotten. Its emissaries never reached Poi and do not yet know how to worship properly.

4. They say that no other Maring is of the same *jat* as themselves. This seems clear from the restriction on outside marriages referred to above.

5. They originally came from Angoching near the Kabaw valley and the Poi people left these

first and went to Falam. Later Khoibu came to Manipur. They used to be of the same *jat* as Poi; but it is so long since they have had communication that they are rather uncertain about it now.

Stars and constellations.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the genders of the sun and moon.

Unfortunately it was cloudy for most of the nights I was in the Maring country. I was able to collect the following information.

1. *Milkyway*—Khudei Khulen call it Kul-lam (*Kul*=going round and *lam*=road) and explain it by saying that this is the road used by the god in going round the earth and sky.

N. B.

All these explanations are given with some hesitation and may be accepted with some reserve until further enquiries have been made.

Machi call *sorua-lam-thlai*, *sorua*=stars, *lamthlai*=like a road. Yongkhun call it *Purpilam*, Khoibu call it *Kaphurpui-lam*. The name is the same and the pronunciation made the words seem more-alike than the spelling (which is as near as I can get) does. Both gave the same explanation saying that it was "a very hungry (i. e. very long) road". Lit=when rice is dear.

2. *The Pleiades*—Kuki Bombir. All the Marings who recognise it call it *Suk-Kruk*. All agree that *suk*=paddy husking implement. Khudei Khulen say that *kruk*=close together or all together, and that the name is from the likeness to a number

of girls husking a paddy all together. Others say that *kruk*=six (Manipuri *taruk*) and that the constellation is like six paddy huskers. *

I could not get any of the other constellations identified. Most of the Marings do not know them, but some may.

Stones.—

Marings used stones only for the *Then-bung* and *Thel-hongba*. They do not use them for building or as seats. Nor do they use wooden posts except in the *Thenbung*.

Then-bung. †

This is important. Without it no village can be built. The village god resides there. It is a small rough circle of stones about 5 or 6 ft. in diameter, the stones being smaller than a man's head and apparently thrown in irregularly. There is also a post close by and there may be a few small stones round that. The post is not more than about 2 ft. high and is a section of a tree trunk. All sacrifices are made at this post to which a longer stick is attached for the sacrifice and the actual sacrifice is done on the stick. The parts of the sacrifice to be given to the god are then placed on the heap of stones. The only things sacrificed are fowls and eggs. The persons

* The Sema Nagas describe the Pleiades as six girls husking paddy to make rice, and spinning thread.

† *Then-bung* is the Manipuri name. Marings call it *Lāman*.

N. B.

In no village did I find any trace of—sacrificial or sacred implements.

who do the sacrifice are the Khul-lakpa, the Khunbu and Lub-lakpa. Other persons may attend to watch: but may take no part in the sacrifice, which is always done shortly before sun set. It is done 3 times a year in May, June and July, and each time they pray that the paddy and cotton crops may be good and for the health of the village. Other villages may not worship at the village *Thenbung*.

The three officials and those attending the sacrifice may eat the flesh. No woman may eat it, though women may eat the flesh at all other feasts.

The above was collected at Lamlong. It was amplified (and corrected) at Khudei-Khulen as follows.

The main post of the *Then-bung* is renewed every 6 years. The fowl is tied to the additional small post which is put up afresh for each sacrifice by 3 strips of bamboo, 2 on the neck and one at the top of the breast. The leg are left loose. The fowl is killed by thrusting * a bodkin through its neck and pulling out the wind pipe etc., leaving the bone behind. The *maiba* (medicine-man) watches the movements of the fowl's legs. If they move to the right, it is good; if to the left, bad. Two other officials ¶

* This is a sort of skewer which the young men stick through the top-knot of their hair, if they wish to be smart.

¶ There are 6 *sageis* in Khudei Khulen; but Lamthaka and Khulpuwa are closely allied and probably count as one for this purpose. I forgot to enquire at the time.

help in the sacrifice in this village and they told me that these five were the head of each *sagei*. These five alone may eat the flesh. The sacrifice is done shortly after sunrise. They do this 6 times each year, at intervals of 2 months. The first 3 times the offering is one egg; the last 3 one fowl. Each time there is *gerna* for 6 days, during which they may not work in the fields, or make cloth, or husk paddy or comb their hair. Chastity is quite unnecessary.

At Khudei Khulen there are 2 other ceremonies which they also call *Thenbung* i. e. they are for the village god. In July they offer a little *zu* to the god. * Then they kill a very small chicken, and, putting in into a basket, take to the village gate with some chaff in an earthen pot. These are left at the gate *Gerna* as above for 3 days after this. In February the Khunbu goes round the village at dead of night and strikes a drum very softly with his fingers. It is very bad for any one to hear it. After this there is one day's *gerna*.

Khoibu also have the *Then-bung*. They sacrifice 3 times a year, and each time the sacrifice is a pig, a fowl and 6 eggs. It is for the good of their crops and the health of the village. The Khul-lakpa and Khunbu do the sacrifice, and they have 5 assistants. These 7 alone eat the food. After the first 2 sacrifices there are 2 days *gerna*, during which they may not leave the village or

* I think this is done by the Khunbu only; but am not quite sure. My notes are not clear.

cultivate; but may make cloth and husk paddy. After the 3rd time there is 2 days gerna during which they may do none of the above.

Yongkhun agree with Khoibu except that they omit eggs in the sacrifice. It is genna for 2 days each time, complete except that they may husk paddy. The Khul-lakpa and Khunbu do the sacrifice and have 2 assistants. All the old men may eat the flesh; but not the young men or women.

The other case in which stones are used by the Marings is the Thel-hongba. * This is a purely individual concern, and not a village sacrifice. Information from Lamlong is as follows,

The ceremony is performed to propitiate a man's ancestors. It has not been done for many years—not within living memory—because the man has to be rich to be able to afford it. The sacrifice is 7 mithan and one pig, neither more nor less. After he has done the ceremony a man is entitled to put up 3 fairly big stones (2 to 3 ft. long, 1½ ft. broad and 1 ft. thick approximately) flat on the ground, and at a little distance one smaller one on end. This one is called *Lung Koinu* (meaning unknown; but *nang*=stone in Manipuri). † The other 3 are called

* This is the Manipuri name. The Marings call it *Thilto*. Khoibu call it *Thil-kalai*; but have now forgotten how to do it, and don't try now.

† As in several Naga languages, though it usually takes the form *lung*.

Thil-tulung (meaning unknown). The whole village partakes of the feast, and men of other villages may share in it, if asked. No souls live in the stones; but the Lung Koinu is said to be the god of the ancestors. This is only a fancy of the performer of the sacrifice, the souls having gone far away long ago. Any one may sit on these stones. I saw many such stones through-out the area. There is no recollection of the performer of the ceremony. They are generally put up near the village gate; * but the village now is often Kuki and not Maring, as the Kukis have settled in this area in fair numbers in the last 3 or 4 generations.

Yongkhun agree in the main with the above with the following additions and corrections. Six mithan only are necessary, and if the performer is a poor man, he may even substitute pigs and fowls. The number of stones is fixed by the Khul-lakpa and Khunbu. It is generally from 2 to 5. These stones are always put up outside the village near the village gate. Only the Khul-lakpa, sub-lakpa, Khunbu, other village officials and the performer of the sacrifice may sit on the stones. After the sacrifice the performer and his wife may not eat boiled rice or anything else boiled; but they may eat anything steamed. They can Onak zu. They cook their food by putting a small vessel with dry food in into a large earthenware vessel filled with water, and then they light a fire under the large vessel.

* i. e. not at the place of sacrifice which is the owner's house.

Wooden posts are not used for sacrifices except as noted elsewhere under *Then-bung*. Mithen are slaughtered by being tied with ropes and held by men both in front and behind. There is an individual sacrifice of 7 mithan which entitles a man to be called *Upak-hongba* (Manipuri, *upak* plank). In Maring he is called *Pal-hling*. He is entitled to use planks for the walls of his house and to put two planks on the front of his roof. These planks cross one another at the top and thus give the effect of crossed planks on the roof in Angami villages. I did not see any on any Maring houses; but at Khudei Khulen I saw two which had been on the house years ago. These had a serrated edge. The owner of the house was a very old man and it was his elder brother who had done the sacrifice. At Lamlong no particular social status is conferred by this ceremony, and they have no special cloths etc.; but the man must have been wealthy to be able to perform it. There are no food restrictions.

At Khudei Khulen the sacrifice is 6 mithen, one pig and 6 fowls, and at Machi 6 mithan. The idea is that the performer's cattle and pigs are less likely to be carried off by tigers. * At Khudei Khulen a special cloth is fixed to a pole and placed near the *upak-hongba's* burial place. In Machi they do the same and also fix planks, instead of the usual split bamboos round his grave.

* So I was told at Khudei Khulen. I think it is doubtful.

Yongkhun and Khoibu say that they used to perform this ceremony but that they have now forgotten all about it, and it has fallen into disuse.

In all ceremonies the mithan is killed by a spear thrust (if necessary two or three) into its right side.

I found no food restrictions after gennas except those mentioned. Ordinary gennas necessitate no such restrictions.

Lamlong.

After child birth for one month the mother may eat only one particular kind of fish-(*nga-purum*) * as her flesh diet. She may eat rice and the leaves of pulses, but no ordinary vegetables. Ordinary *zu* is bad for her womb and she will not drink it; but she will drink the distilled spirit (*lai-yu*). She will drink warm water, but not cold.

Khudei Khulen.

She may eat either *nga-purum* or *nga-mu* (a mud fish). She may drink *lai-yu* and ordinary *zu* if warmed.

Some men of Lamlong, Khunbi and Phunan told me that a pregnant woman might not eat bear's flesh; but another man from Khunbi denied this and said that he knew of cases where they did eat it. There are not many bears in this country.

In Khoibu the Khul-lakpa and Khunbu may grant permission to their assistants at *Thenbung* and other festivals (but not to others) to wear a special kind of cloth. I found no other cases of special cloths being granted; but some Maring villages wear white cloths with a red border and others white cloths with a black border, and these do not intermarry. I forget now which is which.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. WITCHES AND THEIR ORDEALS.

In 1918 a murder was committed in the Sirgooja State of which Captain Sinnock was in charge. An enquiry was made which elicited the fact that a landholder Parbal Sahy had ordered a woman supposed to be a witch to be put to death. The landholder never made a secret of it, and when the court put a question to him, "Do you know that he who is the author of murder commits a great crime?" he boldly replied, "I know that it is a very great crime to commit a murder, but in my country Sirgooja it is no crime to kill a witch". "What punishment follows murder by the laws of Sirgooja?" was the next question, to which Parbal Sahy replied, "The laws of Sirgooja permit witches and enchantrresses to be put to death with impunity". The matter was reported to Major Roughsedge then commanding the South West Frontier, who wished his subordinates to make a further investigation "calculated to throw light upon the subject in all its bearings and ramifications".

Captain Sinnock thereupon submitted a report in which a substitute for the drowning ordeal is mentioned, which appears to me a novel one. It is that of spouting milk from the mouth, so as to fall within the circumference of a pipal leaf.

As Captain Sinnock's report is interesting, I quote below *in extenso* his remarks contained in

paras 4 to 8 of his letter dated, Camp Partabpur, the 2nd Sept. 1818.

“As the Directors and perpetrators of these foul deeds are under no apprehensions of being exposed to the revenge of the families and relations of their victims, so is no concealment or privacy deemed necessary on the occasion, and the helpless objects are put to death either in open day or at the fall of night, as circumstances may render it expedient; they are generally conveyed to and butchered in a Jungle or Nula, if at a convenient distance from the village. These occurrences excite no notice or remarks, and the knowledge of them is, in general, confined to the precincts of the spot in which the parties concerned reside, and hence of course arises the want of public information regarding the annual number of victims.

“The sufferers are invariably convicted and sentenced on presumptive evidence. If an individual in sound health be suddenly seized with a fever, a severe tooth, ear or head ache or a paralytic stroke, if he sustains an unanticipated loss, or if he be suddenly deprived of his senses, or afflicted by a visitation of Providence, a report of the circumstance is made to the Head of the village, who immediately connives (collects?) those of his *raiynuts* who have the credit of possessing a knowledge of the influence and the powers of sorcery, as well as of the person or the persons through whose agency it operates (and every village and hamlet contains peoples of

this description, male or female and who are also called Jadoogars) and after explaining to them the nature of the case, he directs them to take the particulars into their consideration, and then to point out the culprit, who upon their (supposed infallible) recognition is forthwith summoned to undergo a mock trial or rather merely to answer the following question put to him by the Punch,—“You are accused of (here the circumstance is detailed); are you, or are you not guilty? If he answers (as of course he will) in the negative, he is directed to adduce proofs of his innocence by the immediate recall of his evil spirits from the body of the sufferer and his consequent release from pain, or restoration to health &c., and if he fails (as must naturally be the case) in this, his guilt is declared to be established. He then receives the fixed and specific punishment denounced against him and which, if the crime with which he stands charged comes within the cases before particularized, is as follows,—the offender’s head is shaved, a quantity of rice is then produced which being mixed with the urine of other people and his own blood, taken from a vein or punctures in his arm, is presented to him, and he is then compelled to eat it, and after partaking of this disgusting meal and drinking water brought from a Chamar’s vessel and house, he is expelled (mounted on a donkey, if procurable) from the village, whither he is never permitted to return, and his property is forfeited to the Chief of the village, as his *RIGHT*, though he is some-

times induced to bestow it upon the unfortunate person's family, but this is esteemed a favour, to which they have no just claim, an act of extreme kindness and a superarrogation.

"If, however, a person happens to meet with sudden death (although it be purely accident), or if he should be carried off after a short previous illness, the same original ceremony and, when the criminal is pointed out by the Council of Jadoo-gars, he is usually put to a speedy death, though he is sometimes permitted in these cases of life and death to demonstrate his innocence or guilt by the following ordeal:--he is tied up in a jack, and in that state thrown into a tank, or other body of stagnant water; if he rises up and floats after having travelled (if I may be allowed the use of the expression) 152 paces under water, he is rescued from his perilous situation, and his innocence is considered as clearly established. In the event of there being no water adapted to the occasion at hand, a ladder, 12 cubits in length, is fixed perpendicularly in the ground and the devoted object is ordered to ascend to the very top of the ladder under which a leaf of pipal tree is placed, and into which he is desired to spout the milk with which his mouth has been previously filled; if the collected quantity of that fluid falls within the circumference of the said leaf, he proves his innocence; should a quantity however (about the half of it) fall beyond its limits, he furnishes undeniable evidence of his guilt, and his death is the inevitable consequence. I need hardly

add that no instances are known wherein persons subjected to these trials have escaped with life, and I believe they constitute the only tests restored to on the occasions. In these, as in the other cases, the person's property devolves to the proprietor of the village.

"The permission of, or a reference to the Rajah or Jaghirdar is not considered at all necessary, the Chief of the village being supposed to possess from custom sufficient authority to punish all individuals convicted of witchcraft or sorcery, whenever he thinks proper, but when that punishment was death, and the Rajah (or the ruling power) made acquainted with it, he has been known occasionally to send for the headman and to punish him with a mutet of 12 Rupee called *Khaṇḍā Dholāee* (the meaning of which denoted by its name, *Khaṇḍā Dhōlaee* is a compound word and compounded of *Khaṇḍā* a sword and *Dhōlaee* a washing or cleansing), but no further notice was ever taken of this more than commonly barbarous conduct.

"Instances are not wanting of a person's falling a sacrifice to a supposed possession of wealth though the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of the District renders this occurrence very rare; one took place however in Chulgullee at the commencement of last year and the unfortunate sufferer being called before the proprietor of the village was peremptorily ordered to discover his concealed property; he replied "I am a poor *raiya*; whence and how therefore can I have accumulated

money?" ; he was then streched out upon his back on the ground and a large stone placed upon his breast, the order was repeated, and his answar the same, and the stones were gradually added until the poor creature died in great agony. His cruel Murderer has since been summond before that awful Tribunal from which there is no appeal and where, it is to be hoped, he has received a punishment commensurate with the enormity of the crime of which he was so wantonly guilty".

HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.

(*Rai Bahadur*).

II. THE MERMAID MYTH.

Imaginative and superstitious men have peopled the world with all kinds of imaginary creatures; woods, trees, hills, springs, rivers and the sea are full of them. Many of these are curious and fantastic hybrids of two or more creatures known to man. One such, the mermaid, as its name signifies, an inhabitant of the sea (*Fr:mer*—sea) The mermaid is usually represented as having the head and body of a lovely woman up to the waist which ends in the tail of a fish. It is one of the many mythological creatures sculptured in connection with the colossal statues of the Jains. The other gender of the mermaid is the merman who is half man and half fish like Dagon, the national god of the Philistines. Milton in *Paradise Lost*, *line*, 462, says, "Dagon his name; seamonster-upward Man, and downward fish"

Many different types of sea-nymphs are mentioned in mythology. The Sirens were sea-nymphs who sat on the shores of the island between Circe's isle and Scylla, near the south-west coast of Italy, and sang in such bewitching tones as to allure the passing sailor to draw near and court certain death. Virgil placed them on rocks where vessels were in danger of splitting. The sailors who listened to their music suffered shipwreck and expired in raptures. The Greeks represented the siren as half bird and half woman. Noreids and Naiads are aquatic nymphs; the former are marine but the latter affect springs and rivers.

The Hydriad is a soulless water-nymph who is said to marry men and get a soul when she begets a child. Triton is a sea-god, half man and half fish who causes the roaring of the sea by blowing his shell. The Rāmāyana mentions mermaids (Kadalmathu) and "kiraders" as living in water. The latter were carnivorous islanders who were half tigers and half men and who led aquatic lives. The mermaids are represented as the wives of the sea-king who lived in the ocean. Rama in his search after Sita, was discomfited at Danushkodi by the presence of the sea. Hence he took out his *Agniasthra* (the arrow of fire) to dry up the sea and thus march to Lanka. Then the mermaids came and begged Rama to do no harm to their husband. He graciously consented and had Adam's bridge constructed by Nala and Hanuman and crossed over it to Lanka. Hanuman is said to have taken a mermaid for his wife and their descendants, so they claim, are the Machu Razus of Godavari. In the coasts of Ramnad and Tinnevely districts, a curious phenomenon is often seen, viz, that of "Red" water lapping the shores. The discoloration, due to the presence of characteristic animalcules, is explained by the local fishermen as the result of the periodic pathological condition of the mermaids. In a country where even stone goddesses are credited with menstruating (e. g. at the Trivandrum Temple), it is no wonder that mythological creatures are treated as human.

The gulf of Mannar is the home of a peculiar animal, the dugong, known to naturalists as

"*Halicore dugong*". This is the sea-cow (the Tamilians call it the *scapig*) which has a head like that of a polled bull. It is a mammal, i. e. it suckles its young and curiously enough its mammae occupy the same pectoral position as in woman. The female which has the remarkable habit of rearing its head and body above water and supporting the young with its flipper, at first sight, especially while suckling its young, startles one to mistake it for a woman. On closer examination however one finds no trace of a resemblance to the human face divine. This grotesque mammal is apparently the original of the mermaid. They are very inquisitive creatures and would have, being fearless of man, crowded near Rama and his men when he came to the seashore as they do even today. The confidence has however so often been betrayed by man that the dugongs are fast becoming extinct. Its flesh and fat are much prized as a delicacy. Conjugal love is perfect among these monogamous beasts. The wailing of the mate and the fashion of allowing itself also to be caught while the other is netted recalls the ancient Hindu practice of Suttee and offers a refreshing contrast to other animals including Man, who have elastic habits as regards their connubial associations. The dugong is said to weep when captured. It has got large glands in connection with the eye. The tears if collected are believed to be a powerful love charm. There are instances of *mantra-vadians* and doctors going all the way to Tuticorin or Kilakarai for these tears. *

S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S.

* This paper was read at the 13th Indian Science Congress at Bombay, 1926.

III. CRAB AS A CURE FOR EAR-ACHE.

A very interesting cure of ear disease is related in *Kakkaṭarasadāyaka vimāna* (V. V. A., p. 243 et seq.) A certain Bhikkhu was so sorely afflicted with acute ear-ache (*Caṇṇasūlam*) that he could not stimulate the insight (*vipassanam*). He got himself properly treated, but all drugs failed him. The Lord, knowing that *Kakkaṭarasa bhojanam* was its remedy sent him on his round to Magadhakhattam for alms. The Bhikkhu clad himself properly, took the alms-bowl and soon found himself before the cottage door of a husbandman. And he was just in time, for the latter was about to eat his breakfast consisting of boiled rice and crab curry. The pious *Khettapāla* received the Bhikkhu, seated him inside his lowly cottage, and set the dish before him. The diet acted like a charm, for no sooner had the *Thera* eaten a bit of the food than his ailment ceased altogether, and he felt that he had been bathed with even a hundred earthen jars of (cold) water (*Therassa tam bhattam bhutta vata yeva Kannaṣūlam paṭe-passambhi. Ghaṭṭasatena rhāto viza ahosi*).

That crab curry should have acted like a miracle in curing acute ear-ache where apparently well-applied medicines failed surprised me. I asked a doctor friend of mine all about it. He, however, ridiculed the idea. Notwithstanding I consulted *Sus'ruta*. He has enumerated many kinds of ear-troubles, viz., *Karnaśūla*, *karnaśrāva*, *karnaṇāka*, etc. There are two kinds of *karnaśūla* viz. *pittaja* (caused by bile), and *vataja* (caused by

wind). In the treatment of *pittajakarṇasulam* is indicated a medicated *ghṛita* in which drugs of the *kakolyādi* and *tikta* groups are cooked. *Kakolyādi* forms a part of the *pittasams'amana varga* (suppression of pitta). In the *kakolyādi* group is found *karkaṭas'ṛngī* and in the *tikta* (bitter) group is found *karkaṭaka*. Now the *Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu* (by Harinarayana Apte) and the Sanskrita dictionaries (by Böthlingk and Roth, Monier Williams and Wilson) give the following synonyms of *Karkaṭa*: *karkaṭah*, *kārkatah*, *karkah*, *kshudradhatri*, *kshudrāmalaka samga*, *karkaṭi*, *karkaṭarasa* (cited in Böthlingk and Roth. *Sus'r.* 2, 322. 19), *karkaṭa*, *kurkavāli* (*momordica mixta* Roxb), *Karkaṭa sṛngī* (*die fruct von Bombax haptaphyllum*), *tumbī* etc. It is to be noted that all these are vegetable drugs indicated in *pittaja* diseases, most of them being associated with *karkaṭa* or its synonym. The word *karkaṭas'ṛngī* deserves special notice; for, curious enough, *s'ṛngī* also means *karkaṭa*. The *Śabdakalpadrūma* gives the following *paryāya*: *karkaṭah kulīrah*, *kulīrakah*, *sadams'akah*, *punkuvāsoh* and *tiryakgāmī*, but omits *s'ṛngī*. I do not know if *sṛngī* could be found in the *paryaya* of *karkaṭa* in any Sanskrita dictionary. But in the *Suvarṇa kakkara-jātaka* (no. 389, ed. Fansboll, vol. III. p. 295), the crab is called 'singi migo' and the commentator explains: "*Tattha singimigo singī savanna vannaṭāya vā alasamkhāṭanam vā singānam atthitāya kakkakaṭako vutto* (i. e., it is called *singī*, either because it is gold coloured,

or because it has claws which may be styled horns)".¹

Although *karkāṭa s'rngī* or *karkāṭa* might in some preparation of *ghṛta* alleviates *pittaja kārṇaśulam* these vegetable drugs were obviously not taken by our Bhikkhu, who undoubtedly ate Crab, a *kakkāṭa*, a *das'apādaka* (V. V. A., p. 245), and the Commentator quaintly explains: '*ekam ekasmim passe pañca pañca kutvā dāsa pādā etassā ti dasapādako*—i. e. having on each side five feet (claws) it was so called". The P. T. S. Pāli Dict. explains *Kakkāṭarasa* as flavour made from crabs, crab-curry, and refers to the present *vimāna*.

The *Rāja Nirghaṇṭa* defines the medicinal properties of a crab—"Asayah guṇāḥ: *sṛṣṭavinmūtratvam bhaṇnasandhātṛtvam, vāyvpittanās'itvañca, kṛṣṇakarkāṭaguṇāḥ — valakāritvam isadusṇatvam anilapahatvañca*". Kunjalal Visagrātṇa says the same thing:²

"The species of black crab is strength-giving and heat-giving in its potency and tends to destroy the deranged *vāyu*. The whole species is laxative and diuretic in its effect and tends to bring about an addition of fractured bones."³ The *Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu* includes *karkāṭa* in the *Kos'astha* group, one of whose many properties is the function of removing *vāta* and *pitta*.

¹ See also *Kakkata Jāt.* vol. II. p. 393.

² *Sus'ruta Samhitā*—Eng. Trans. of, by Kavirāja K. L. Visagrātṇa (1926). Vol. III. pp. 490, 491.

³ Italics are mine.

Thus it appears that *Karṇas'ūla* however caused by *vāyu* or *pitta*, was cured by eating a crab (*vāyupittaparā*). And as the *karkāṭa rasa* has the further property of joining fractured bones *bhagnasandhātrtvam* it could perhaps cure *karṇapāka* or inflammatory suppuration of the ear,—a kind of ear-ache.

Strangely enough, belief in the efficacy of certain species of crab in curing ear diseases (and many other diseases) is not only current in South India, but is actually put into practice. "In South India there is a strong belief that the juice of many kinds of crabs is an efficacious remedy for many diseases. The Othaikalnandu (*Gelasimus annulipes*) or the Dhoby crab with a monster claw as large as the rest of the body in the male, very common along back waters and estuaries, is said to be useful in cases of earache. These crabs are collected and boiled in gingelly oil and the resultant forms excellent eardrops....." ⁴

PROFESSOR KALIPADA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

⁴ *Man in India*, vol. IV, (1924), p. 171.

IV. NOTE ON A TABOO FORBIDDING THE SON-IN-LAW TO MEET OR TOUCH HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

In the paper entitled "*Some Rain-compelling and Rain-Stopping Rites from the District of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal*" Mr. Rajendra Kumar Bhattacharjya, has mentioned the prevalence in that District, of a curious Taboo or ceremonial prohibition which forbids a son-in-law to meet and touch his mother-in-law. This taboo forms the basis of the under-described strange rite for stopping excessive rain:—Whenever it rains heavily, the women folk of the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, make two dolls of rags, one of which is considered to be male and called the "son-in-law", while the other is regarded as female and called the "mother-in-law". These two rag-dolls are placed inside an earthenware saucer and then covered up with another saucer. These two puppets, enclosed in the two earthen ware saucers, are then buried in a hole in the court yard and covered up with earth. This rite symbolises the threat that if the rain-god will not stop the excessive rain that is being showered by him, he would be placed in the same compromising position as the two dolls inside the earthenware saucer, that is to say, he would be compelled to commit the heinous sin of touching his mother-in-law's body.

Though it is a far cry from the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, to North America,

we find that the same curious taboo which prevails among the Hindus of Chittagong, and which forbids the son-in-law to meet and touch his mother-in-law's body also prevails among the Pueblo Indians of North America, as will appear from the following account which has been published in the Calcutta daily newspaper "The Statesmen" of Sunday the 23rd August 1925:—"Pueblo farmers, who live in settlements on the Rio Grande, are North American Indians and, judging by the account of them given by Miss Lindon Smith, who recently gave an exhibition of her pictures in London they are remarkable folk. They have, at any rate, one idea, which seems excellent. *For among them, a man after marriage is forbidden to meet his mother-in-law. If she happens to be in a building which he is about to enter, he is warned of the danger and the lady similarly is assisted by popular custom to keep out of her son-in-law's way*".

Now the question arises: how has the similarity between the Chittagong Hindu and Pueblo Indian taboos come about? Have the Pueblo Indians borrowed the same from the Chittagong Hindus or *vice versa*? It is very easy to reply to this query, for the Chittagong Hindus and the Pueblo Indians living in countries which are separated from each other by such wide expanses of ocean and such extensive tracts of countries that they could not possibly have even come in contact with each other.

So the question of borrowing cannot at all arise in this case. Now there remains for us the alternative of coming to the conclusion that the taboo which prohibits the son-in-law to meet and touch his mother-in-law's body was evolved among these two peoples independently of each other. It is now one of the accepted tenets of Cultural Anthropology that "different groups of mankind started at a very early time from a general condition of lack of culture; and, owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs". *

[I am given to understand by Mr. Rajendra Kumar Bhattacharjye, M. A., who is himself a Chittagonian that in some parts of his district the taboo against meeting and touching the mother-in-law is fast dying out owing to the progress of English education and enlightend views among the people.]

Sir J. G. Frazer however explains the origin of this taboo by the ingenious theory that, as the shadow of a person is a vital part of him it is extremely hazardons to touch his shadow, for touching it is tantamount to actually touching his body itself. On this point he says:—*

* Vide "*The Mind of Primitive Man*" By Franz Boas, published by the Macmillan Company, 1922. p. 181.

* vide "*The Golden Bough*" by Sir J. G. Frazer. Third abridged Edition. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London. 1923. Pages 190 & 91

"Hence the savage makes it a rule to shun the shadow of certain persons whom for various reasons he regards as sources of dangerous influence. Amongst the dangerous classes he commonly ranks mourners and women in general, but *specially his mother-in-law*. The shuswap Indians think that the shadow of a mourner falling upon a person would make him sick. Amongst the Kurnai of Victoria, novices at initiation are even cautioned not to let a woman's shadow fall on them, as this would make them thin, lazy, and stupid. An Australian native is said to have once nearly died of fright because the shadow of his mother-in-law fell on his legs as he lay asleep under a tree. The awe and dread with which the untutored savage contemplates his mother-in-law are amongst the most familiar facts of anthropology. In the Yuin tribes of New South Wales the rule which forbade "a man to hold any communication with his wife's mother was very strict. He might not look at her or even in her direction. It was a ground for divorce if his shadow happened to fall on his mother-in-law; in that case he had to leave his wife, and she returned to her parents. In New Britain the native imagination fails to conceive the extent and nature of calamities which would result from a man's accidentally speaking to his wife's mother; suicide of one or both would probably be the only course open to them. The most solemn form of oath a New Briton can take is, "Sir, if I am not telling the truth, I hope I may shake hands with my mother-in-law." *

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

* This paper was read before the Anthropological section of the thirteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926, and has been subsequently enlarged.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for January to June, 1926, Mr. J. P. Mills contributes an article on *Certain Aspects of Naga Culture*. In this article the author attempts a comparison of the customs of the different Naga tribes with regard to three matters, namely, their methods of Government or tribal and village administration, their ways of disposing of their dead, and their treatment of their enemies' heads. Thus, Mr. Mills points out that Chieftainship, though normal among Kukis, is not common among the Nagas but is found in a pure form (resembling that of the old English Manor) among the Semas, particularly in the newer villages to the east of the Sema country where there has been much empty land for expansion. In most of the older Naga villages, there appears to have been a general levelling up all round and there are no chiefs at all, and the tendency is for the villages to be run by such people as have health and influence, and can shout loudly. The Angamis possess this vague democracy in its most extreme form. "No one ever seems to obey anyone else, and it is a marvel that the villages ever come to any decisions at all". Such is also the case among the Kacha Nagas, Rengmas, Lhotas, Sangtams, and other tribes. Among the Aos, however, we find village councils very highly organized and a highly developed age-group system.

These have been described in detail in Mr. J. P. Mills' recent monograph on the tribe. The Konyaks are distinguished from the other Naga tribes by their institution of sacred chief called *Angs*. An *Ang* is sacrosanct and is treated with extraordinary respect: His blood must not be shed and every care is taken of him. He has a distinctive dress, distinctive weapons and distinctive seats. Contrary to other ordinary exogamous customs of Naga tribes, an *Ang* must marry as his principal wife the daughter of the *Ang* of another village,—that is to say, a woman of his own clan.

In villages of the *Thenkoh* group, where the *Angs* are not very powerful, the policy of the village is dictated by the feeling of the "morungs" or bachelor-houses which are dormitories of the boys, the clubs of the men, and the guard-houses of the village.

As for Naga methods of disposal of the dead, most tribes (e.g. the Angamis) bury outside the village, others (e.g. the Lhotas) outside the deceased's own house, others, again, (e.g. the southern Sangtams) under the deceased's own bed. Further north, exposure on platforms is the rule, though the Changs both bury and later expose on platforms. The Aos now practise only exposure, though formerly a corpse used to be smoke-dried till the next harvest and then laid on a platform,—a custom still observed only in one village or two. In one Ao village called Yacham, Mr. J. P. Mills noticed that although the bodies are exposed, the custom is to wrench off the head and finally

deposit it with other heads of its own clan in a cleft in a rocky cliff.

The Konyaks, too, accord a special treatment to the head, it being wrenched off when the exposed corpse begins to decay, brought home and cleaned, and sometimes painted with tattoo marks. It is then visited by his friends, who bring small offerings and weep over it. "The length of time it is kept in the house depends on the wealth of the heirs, for all visitors have to be entertained." Finally, in some villages it is deposited in a pot with a flat stone lid, under the sacred *ficus* tree, the pot being concealed under a conical erection of the ching palm; in other villages where soft sand-stone is available, a small stone cist takes the place of the pot; and in some villages, again a wooden figure of the deceased is put up in a little house by the platform on which the body is; and the head, when finally deposited, is placed in a pot near the figure, with a little stone table in front for offerings; in some eastern villages this figure is provided with wooden horns on the top of the head, between which the skull is placed for a time in order that the soul may pass from the skull into the wooden figure.

Lastly, as for head-hunting and the treatment of enemies' heads: Besides serving as the tangible proof of a head-hunter's valour, the enemy's head is believed to add to the soul-force of the head-hunter's village by bringing home the soul of his enemy which resides in the head; and this added soul-force is believed to add to the general

fertility and prosperity of his village. "The close connection between stones and enemy-heads is noticeable. The Sema makes offerings to war stones before he goes on a raid. The Lohta hangs a head on the sacred tree under which the fertility stones of the village are kept. The Ao hangs the head from a similar tree for a time. The Konyak ties the head to a monolith, and for every head taken a stone is added to an erection in front of the Ang's house. Most Nagas expose enemies' heads in some way, but the Angami used first to lay it on the sacred stone of his clan and then bury it, face down, outside the village. The southern Sangtams stick up their heads on the ends of bamboo poles. The Sema hangs a head by a cane string from a bamboo which he leans against the tree under which the luck-stones of the village are kept. Further north more care is taken to preserve heads permanently in the belief that they will continue to bring prosperity for ever. Heads hung up in Chang and Konyak villages often have pairs of horns fastened on them. These horns, as Dr. Hutton has shown, are emblems of fertility, and are another proof of the close connection between head-hunting and agriculture. Mr. Mills concludes his article by pointing out that village government, disposal of the dead, and the treatment of enemies' heads are not so far divorced from one another as at first sight they seem.

In the same number of the J. R. A. I., Dr. J. H. Hutton contributes a paper on *The use of*

Stone in the Naga Hills. The purposes for which stone is still used in the Naga Hills are divided by the author into three heads,—utilitarian, ceremonial, and magical. As for the utilitarian uses of stone in the Naga Hills, stone is used in some places in building the low side-walls and the backs of houses, building up stone terraces for houses and in terracing the hill-sides for cultivation. Although the use of stone for fortifications among the Nagas is purely utilitarian, the use of stone for stairways, causeways and watering places, according to Dr. J. H. Hutton, “comes somewhere between the utilitarian and ceremonial uses of stone”.

The ceremonial use of stone is almost confined to the Angami and Kaccha Naga tribes, and is to be associated principally with the erection of stone platforms intimately associated with the cult of the dead. The author describes the four different kinds of stone platforms in use among the Angamis, namely the *dahu* (resembling the *ahu* of Easter Island), the *tehuba* (resembling the *marae* of the Society and Austral Islands), the *khêhû* (resembling similar memorial stones described by Fergusson in the hills of southern India as also on the north African coast of the Mediterranean and on the Tyrrhenian coast of Etrurie), and the *barê*. The use of stone for receptacles for the skulls of the dead links the ceremonial with the magical uses of stone. These stone receptacles are in a few Konyak villages in the shape of boxes hollowed out of sandstone and

covered with a rough slab; and very many Konyak villages use an earthenware pot with a flat stone over the mouth. Some Angami villages put up wooden figures for the dead, some put up such figures with a small stone behind them, others put up menhirs only. These menhirs, the author is convinced, are, like the wooden statues of the dead, places for the souls of the dead; and Dr. Hutton points out that stone statues of the dead were frequent in Polynesia as well as the wooden ones. The author says,—

“In the case of the wooden figures of the dead in the Pacific, the skulls were sometimes kept with them or on them, and this is done by the ‘Changyik’ Konyaks of Yonghong, Yaktu Ukha, and Angfang, whose soul figures have horn-like projections from the head to hold the skull on; and there is in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, a *Kima* from the Garo Hills, with horns so similar that I cannot doubt that the horns on the Garo *Kima* served the same purpose originally although they seem to have changed their form since, to judge by the illustrations in Playfair’s work.

The stone receptacle might be connected with the practice followed in Phom and Thado Kuki villages and at least one Chang Naga village, of putting the skulls of the dead in ledges or crevices in cliffs. The same practice is found in the Pacific. The use of a stone as a receptacle for the soul of a dead man is but a step to its

magical use as a means of promoting the fertility of the earth. These stones of fertility among the Nagas are not menhirs only but also dolmens as among the Khasis, Phallic menhirs also occur and are associated with heads of enemies. The Konyaks place enemy heads on flagstones at the foot of a stone phallus, or hoist them on a bamboo tied to a menhir; the Lohta hangs them on a *figus* tree above the village *oha* stones; the Angami puts them on the *Kithuchne*, the sacred stone of the village or clan. Dr. J. H. Hutton classes *oha* and *Kithuchie* as baetylic stones of the same kind regarded as the dwelling place or the repository of the prosperity of the community or the spirit which promotes it. In addition to these communal baetyls, associated with the luck of the community as a whole, almost every Naga household possesses baetylic stones. These "hand-idols", as they may be called, are private possessions, being little nodules of hard black stone of various shapes, generally more or less oval, kept in little rattan baskets, specially woven. Generally speaking, they are very like those found in graves in Ireland, while the beliefs in baetylic stones generally are almost identical with those reported from Melanesia. Any stone out of the ordinary is liable to be regarded as the abode of a deity, and big isolated boulders are almost invariably so regarded. Stones are particularly associated with wind and rain; such stones (either boulders on hill tops or round stones in river-beds) may not be touched, since their removal is followed by violent hurricanes of hail or rain. The author concludes with

two generalizations. He suggests (1) that the forms in which stone is used are generally associated with similar forms in wood; and (2) that the use of stone is closely associated with a fertility cult in which the souls of the dead are utilized to fertilize the soil and promote good crops of maize, stock and cereals, stone menhirs and dolmens of phallic significance being used as vehicles for this purpose. Finally, Dr. J. H. Hutton draws attention to the parallels which the use of stone in the Naga Hills offers to that in the Pacific and in Madagascar, and observes that in the Naga Hills he can trace no connection whatsoever between the use of stone and sun-worship, but that the Naga Hill monuments are intimately connected with the worship of the dead.

In the same number of the J. R. A. I. Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti contributes an article on *Pisharoti Rituals*. The Pisharotis belong to the Ambalasi division of Malabar Hindus. The Pisharotis bury their dead and do not wear the sacred thread. Their rituals fall into two classes,—(i) purificatory rituals such as are performed to purify the person and make him a Pisharoti, name-giving, ear-boring, initiation &c. and (ii) propitiatory rituals, which the Pisharoti has to perform in the name of, or for the sake of, others. Among the latter are funeral ceremonies and the like.

Rites regarding conception, birth and childhood are given in some detail.

In the same number of the J.R.A.I., Mr. Sydney Nicholson describes the *Social Organization*

of the *Mālas*,—An outcaste Indian People who constitute (excluding Christian converts) nearly 10% per cent of the total population of the Telugu country. This people are divided and subdivided in quite a complex manner. There is first the division into *Right and Left-handed sections*. The author thinks that originally all *Malās* belonged to the Right-hand group and were *Saivites* in faith, but most *Mālas* in the Eastern Telugu country have become *Vaishnavites* since the days of *Ramanuja* and changed their 'hand' and began to wear the cloth over the left shoulder, but even now at the time of weddings all *Mālas* revert to what was, our author believes, their old custom and wear the cloth over the right shoulder. The *Reddi-Bhūmaluvāndlu* (whom Mr. Nicholson considers to be later immigrants into the Telugu country), however, always wear the cloth over the right shoulder.

Thus these divisions into *Right-and-Left-handed* communities are further sub-divided as follows:—

Right-hand Reddi-Bhūmalu.

Left-hand Murikinati and Pokānāti.

Each of the above Left-hand sections are divided into a number of *gotrams* or clans. Each *gotram* is again sub-divided into a bewildering number of *house-names* which have apparently risen in many different ways. The sections are endogamous, but the *gotrams* and house-names are strictly exogamous. The men belonging to each particular "house" are related to each other as "brothers", and to the men of other houses as "brothers-in-law".

The article concludes with an account of the 'caste organization' and caste council and caste officers (the *Cheti* or caste magistrate, the *Salavādi* or the caste-beadle, the *Dāsari* or priest) and their functions, and the laws of inheritance and succession.

In the October (1926) number of *Man*, Major N. V. L. Rybot contributes a note on "A Small-Pox Edict Pillar at Lhasa". On the face of the slab are the cup-marks or pock-marks shaped like spoons. The author sees in them a magical connection with the disease.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences.—*By various writers, Edited, with an Introduction, by Harry Elmer Barnes, Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College. (Alfred A Knopp New York 1925).*

The world has lately passed through a great war and is even now suffering from its after-effects. The chief reason why the war developed such an international character lay in the great advance in industrial methods and in systems of communication and transport, which have knit together all the nations of the earth into a state of economic inter-dependence. It is idle to speculate whether this is good or bad, for industries and systems of communication will go on perfecting regardless of any good or evil they may cause to mankind in the future. The prospect of a still closer international unification in the near future cannot therefore be resisted even if we so desire.

But the society in which we live, was formed at a period when such conditions were absent. It was organised on a narrower basis, and social laws and moral values were calculated to synthesise the interests of a small group of individuals. When perchance, two such social groups came into contact with each other, the reaction usually took a hostile form. Hardly any common interests ever ruled such groups and they felt suspicious of each other's motives. But in the interest of

justice, it must also be said that inter-tribal relations sometimes took a better turn. However that may be, it is a fact that such contacts were infrequent and rarely affected the vital interests of the community as they do now. But the basic conditons of life have now changed, and we are feeling the inadequacy of our narrow social heritage to meet the requirements of the times. The lack of interest in international relationship, which was one of the features of the past ages, has to go, along with many of our moral values of a tribal or familial character.

With the improvement in industrial methods, some nations have been placed in control of great power, which has unfortunately been directed against people who cannot offer effective resistance. But what has been the actual gain due to this? Perhaps nothing more than a vulgar addition of material comforts and the sense of satisfaction resulting from the control of much power and wealth. It has certainly made the votaries of industrial advancement worse men than they were, and has moreover cast other men into depths of misery and mental servitude. These are some of the actual results achieved, but this is far from saying that these alone are the possible results.

Some of the best minds of the present day foresee the possibility of making human life happier by the application of the same knowledge which has caused the present chaos. According to them mankind has failed to adjust itself to

the new power which it has acquired so recently. There is also a feeling among them that the social sciences hold in them the authority and capacity to suggest the best line of forward movement in the present crisis. Even in our university circles in India, there are signs of the birth of this new outlook. In Bombay, the Convocation address of Sir B. N. Seal was from beginning to end one long and vigorous advocacy for the humanisation of our social studies. In the University of Lucknow, as a practical movement, there have been started night-schools, for the benefit of the untouchables and study-circles have been formed to investigate into the actual state of the rural population.

At such a time as this, we welcome the appearance of this book as a sign of the new orientation in the social sciences. As a first step in this direction, the writers, each of them a recognised master in his own field, have undertaken to assess the acquirements of the past ages in these sciences. What strikes us as a common note in all of them, is the growing objectivism of the social sciences. Just as in the beginnings of the physical sciences, their founders had to shake off their theological bias or their regard for Aristotelian infallibility before any real advance could be made, so too in the social sciences signs are discernible of a growing freedom from any bias for particular theories. Perhaps a science needs such a leading-rope in its infancy but before it can rank as a full-fledged science or fulfil its duties to humanity,

it must rid itself of all such artificialities. The past would have achieved enough, if it had succeeded in liberating subjects like History, Cultural Anthropology or Economics from the bondage of preconceived theories and thus elevating them to the rank of true sciences. With the eminent contributors to this volume we shall eagerly look forward to the day when, thus liberated, the social sciences will not only rise to greater heights than ever before, but also serve in making human life happier and nobler than in the past.

We do not however profess to be so optimistic in this matter as the editor of the book seems to be. The gain in physical and chemical knowledge and technical ability was calculated in the past to make mankind happier; but the actual results achieved were very different from what was expected at first. It may so happen that social knowledge will likewise be employed by the meaner natures of the earth to serve their own ends. What seems more necessary than anything else, is the cultivation of the spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice among men. Let us only hope that the new movement in the social sciences will also show a better way of gaining this end.

As for the contents of the book, it begins with an Introduction by the Editor Prof. H.E. Barnes, which is followed by articles of about 50 pages each on I. *History*, by the Editor himself, II. *Human Geography* by Jean Brunhes, III. *Biology*, by H. M. Parshley, IV. *Social Psychology*

by Kimball Young; V. *Cultural Anthropology* by Dr. Goldenweiser; VI. *Sociology* by N. Hankins; VII. *Economics* by Hankins; VIII. *Political Science* by W. J. Shepard; IX. *Jurisprudence* by Roscoe Pound; and X. *Ethics* by R. C. Givlex.

Each writer gives a concise up-to-date history of the particular social science he deal with; and the student will find the book of invaluable help in appreciating the logical and historical interdependence of the various social sciences.

Besides its value as a scholarly work, the book is an important contribution towards the solution of concrete social problems. We strongly recommend the book to every student of the social sciences.

Man and Culture.—By Clark Wissler, Ph. D., (Harrap & Co. London 1923). PP. X+371.

This is another important publication which will be of great use to the student. Dr. Wissler deals comprehensively with human culture and emphasises its biological back-ground in particular.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the Meaning of Culture, as a whole. Dr. Wissler points out that it is a core of distinctive ideas and beliefs, actuating a people and in a large measure controlling their career, that forms the backbone, or at least the unifying element, in a particular culture-complex, and that

wherever there are sharp differences in peoples as to such fundamental necessities as housing, clothing and feeding, there will likewise exist differences in belief and ideals, social ways and ethics and in fact in all mental attitudes towards things so great and having so much originality of form, that the whole life-complexes of these peoples must be taken as distinct cultures. The dominant cultural characteristics of a people may be taken to designate the type; and the type of culture shows no regard for linguistic differences or political boundaries. The author then discusses the characteristics of what he calls the Euro-American type of culture, and finds that such differences as occur in different parts of the extensive Euro-American culture area are merely variations around this culture norm or type. In this way the author finds that cultures fall into distinct types and the number of these types is not very great, "of the so-called higher cultures of the last five hundred years there are two existent types; the remainder comprises something less than fifty primitive types. All show the same tendency to overstep the bounds of states and language, as if culture and political unity were two unrelated phenomena". As for the continuity of culture, the author points out that even the much idealized Euro-American culture rests upon a deeply stratified, crude, and perhaps sordid stone-age foundation. "It is an accumulation of the experiences of untold thousands of individuals and is still accumulating at an accelerating pace; and forgetting that such things as tribes and

nations exist, we may look upon culture as a growing whole that occupies the earth from age to age like its fauna and flora".

In Part II., Dr. Wissler discusses the Form and Content of Culture, and defines and describes Culture traits, Culture complexes, Culture types, Culture areas, and infers that a true Culture area is a succession of distribution zones encircling a nucleus and that this centre is the point of dispersal from which trait-complexes are diffused; it is the time element that contributes to the association or adhesion of trait-complexes and accounts for their coincidence, and the events that led to their time relations, or the history of the case, is necessary to a full understanding of the phenomenon. To discover adhesions the student must proceed to work out the distributions of complexes among the successive tribal cultures and then correlate these distributions. A tribal culture is a collection of tribal-complexes, developed and acquired in the course of tribal life; so the association of one with the other can be fully accounted for when we learn the events that brought them into these relations.

The fundamental lines of the evolution of the phenomenon of culture exhibit a similarity of scheme which the author calls the universal pattern or skeleton of culture. This is made up of different culture complexes such as speech, material traits (food, shelter, transportation, dress, utensils, weapons, occupations and industries), art, mythology and science, religion, family and social

systems, property, government, war. Even among very primitive peoples, there are cultures which readily fall under the scheme or human pattern indicated by the above headings. These complexes are conceived to be also entangled into a whole known as the tribal culture. Primitive and higher cultures differ only in complexity or richness of content. What happens in the evolution of culture is an elaboration and enrichment of these complexes. The whole series of culture-complexes can be resolved into supplementary constructs (tools &c.) and the neuro-muscular mechanism of man. It is because the same relations in communication, thought and tools everywhere prevail that the cultures of the world have the same form and manifest the same processes. This is what the author calls the universal pattern. The methods by which cultures are acquired, namely, independent invention, diffusion and convergence—are then discussed at some length in several chapters. As regards the Genesis of Culture to which our author devotes an interesting chapter of about 40 pages, he can only say after a review of the facts and processes of the earliest known cultures, that the same general (universal) pattern for culture has prevailed since the earliest stone age, and so, in answer to the query as to where and when the pattern for culture arose, we can say no more than that one must look back to the dawn of culture and beyond", but that the subject must be left in an unsatisfactory state owing to the poverty of data, and the author can "only look forward

with confidence to the day when the results of culture research will reveal not only the relative chronologies of the great American, Oriental and Occidental culture provinces, but also the contents of their primitive prototypes", in which "were laid the very foundations of modern cultures to be understood only when we view them as elaborations of the old tribal forms".

As for modern tendencies in cultural evolution, the exploitation of sources of power rather than of food, and the consequent development of mechanical traits is the new note in the world. It is the elaboration of this complex, with the numerous adhesions, that marks the present times as unique.

The last part of the book deals with the Relation of Cultures to Man in five chapters, headed respectively, Culture as Human Behaviour, the Individual and the Race in Culture, the Domestication of Man and its consequences, the Environment, and the Rationalization of Culture Processes. Starting with the anthropologist's view that culture is the outcome of human behaviour, the author proceeds to define and discuss the biological basis and origin of culture. As for explanations of racial differences in terms of culture, the author points out that a given type of culture is the resultant of two variables, race and environment, and a very large part of what appear as differences in cultural achievement can be satisfactorily explained as the outcome of combinations between the environment and cultural processes.

Culture itself affected man's body and its functions, in surrounding him with ever-changing conditions and so every advance in culture should afford an increased opportunity for the course of variation and heredity.

Taking Asia as the geographical centre of man's distribution, it is observed that "the dark-skinned folk are in the main farthest from the centre while the great main body, or the mass, tends to be light in colour". Just as the geologists find that the marginal mammals are the most diverse in form and frequently the most primitive, so "we find the simple cultured Bushman in the extreme south of Africa, the lowly Tasmanian south of Australia on the island of that name, and the despised Feugian at Cape Horn, South America". There is also a coincidence between marginal cultures and the marginal peoples, and between the central cultures and the central peoples; and culture types seem to have a distribution coincident to the lines of racial dispersion. At the present, the centre of culture seems to fall among Nordic peoples, or amongst peoples in which there is a large Nodic element, as the Germans, French, English, and Americans. The import of the author's comparative studies of culture history is, however, that the centres for a culture type shifted now from one group to another, and no one racial strain, like the Nordics, for example, can lay claim to more than an incidental contribution to culture as a whole. So our clearest insight into the mechanism of culture is attained when we examine the more

primitive marginal cultures of the world, for when we turn to the central culture areas we see the main lines of procedure to be the same. To the degree to which a culture specializes, the limits to growth are narrowed; the central cultures are what they are because they were less specialized and the only way by which these cultures can preserve their flexible qualities is to shift their centres to the less generalized or wilder groups. The Nordics were once the wilder group who took the culture movement, and now stand out as the hope of the immediate future. Although Dr. Wissler does not aim at introducing new or original anthropological data or theories or to develop novel lines of inquiry, his interpretation of the existing concrete data of anthropological research appears to be sane and stimulating and, as he hopes, suggestive of new leads in research. The book should be in the hands of anthropological students in India and elsewhere.

Society and Its Problems. An Introduction to the Principles of Sociology.—*By G. S. Dow.*
(George G. Harrap & Co. London), PP. XIV+594.
Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

This volume meant to be an introductory study for the beginner in sociology eminently fulfils its purpose. After explaining the nature of sociology and its relation to the other sciences, the author discusses one by one certain of the fundamental problems such as Population and the effect of

nature or geographic environment upon the development of society, Variation, Heredity and its application to social problems, such as immigration, the race problem, defectives, poverty and crime, war; and Eugenics or race improvement; Birth and Death rates and movements of population and civilization, the overcrowding of cities, and the American Race Problem. The author then proceeds to the study of society from within and gives an account of the Evolution of the family and problems of the modern American family the social achievement of man including the origin and development of language, inventions, property, and industries; Evolution of Government and its different forms; Evolution of Religion and Ethics, and of Education as a social institution. Then follows in four chapters an analysis of Society and the forces that control it. The headings of these four chapters are,—Instincts, Feeling and Intellect; Social Interest; Social Control; and Social organization.

This analysis of society is followed by a discussion of Social Maladjustment in six chapters, headed respectively, Poverty, Treatment of Poverty, Crime, Treatment of the Criminal, Immorality, and Defectives. In the last chapter of the book headed Social Progress, Prof. Dow expresses his disagreement with the pessimistic philosophy of those writers and thinkers who deny that mankind as a whole is actually progressing. Interpreting progress as a greater assurance of

the survival of the race or the preservation of human society the author proceeds to show that such progress cannot be denied, as we find that Social Institutions such as the Family, Government, ethical standards and ideals, and educational systems are becoming more useful. Society is functioning more perfectly and the interests in society are becoming less selfish and individualistic and more healthful and altruistic; and social maladjustment is becoming less harmful. The list of references given at the end of each chapter and the general bibliography at the end of the book will be specially valued by the student. The book, we are sure, will prove useful not only to students of sociology but to the general reader who is interested in the problems confronting modern society. And where is the educated man in these days who is not interested in these problems? A word of caution, however, is needed. So far as Indian society is concerned, however, the author betrays insufficient and erroneous information. His views on the Position of Women in India are partly unjust and incorrect, and should not be swallowed by the reader. And his disparaging views on the Indian population in America may or may not be true of some low-class Indian labourers but are culpably unjust if they are meant to apply to the large population of students and other Indians of the higher and middle classes.

Community. A Sociological Study.—By R. M. Maciver, D. Phil. (Macmillan and Co.) 1924. PP. XVII+446. Price 15 s.

In this book Dr. Maciver attempts to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life. Unlike Prof. Dow's book (*Society and Its Problems*), the present work does not deal with the practical problems that confront modern society. Dr. Maciver deals with fundamental principles; and his analysis of 'community' as a resultant of 'willed relations', and of the laws of communal development is exhaustive, able and sound. In Book I, headed Introduction, he deals with the Meaning of social fact and social Law, the general relation of Community and State and other associations, and the Place of sociology among the sciences. In Book II, the author gives his Analysis of Community in four chapters, headed respectively, False Perspectives of Community, the Elements of Community, the Structure of Community, and Institutions. In Book III, the author discusses the Primary Laws of the Development of Community under the heads—The Meaning of Communal Development; the supposed Law of Communal Mortality; the Fundamental Law of Communal Development; Problems connected with the foregoing law, namely, (1) the unity of the Individual Life, (2) the Correlation of Socialisation and Communal Economy, (3) the Correlation of Socialisation and the Control of Environment. The last chapter gives a short synthesis which is well worth quoting,—

"We have now seen the unity that underlies all the forms of communal development. It is the unity which life, if we seek deeply enough, always reveals. As in each life, so in the continuity of life through successive generations, all the characters of development reveal a single principle. All growth of personality in the members of community involves a corresponding change in their relations to one another, in the social structure, in the customs, institutions, and associations of community. The development of persons and the development of interpersonal relations thus form a single field of study, though we may centre our interests on one or other aspect. In this work our interest has been centred on the interpersonal or social aspect, but we must start from the unity of both aspects in order to understand it. This was revealed in our first law, which gives the clue to the whole development. Socialisation and individualisation develop *pari passu*. The unity of these two factors is revealed in every life as well as in the whole they constitute, for that unity is personality. This must be the basis for any account of communal development. *The actual development of personality attained in and through community by its members is the measure of the importance these attach to personality both in themselves and in their fellow-men.* By aid of this clue we can bring all the other aspects of communal development, the growth of communal economy, the growth of environmental control, under a single law.

To show the unity of communal development is to show also the *line* of communal development, the direction of a road that stretches, who knows, to a yet undreamed-of distance. Community has advanced along that road, not in any steady progress, but in spite of halts, wanderings, and retreats. As it has advanced, the meaning of its march has become, though still dim, yet clearer. Blind impulses are superseded by conscious forces, whereupon it appears that much that was blind in its operation—blind to us whom it impelled—was yet not meaningless, but continuous with what now reveals itself as our own conscious purpose. If that purpose grows still clearer, the movement of community will become more straightforward, towards an age for which the records of this present time will be a memory of "old unhappy far-off things."

Dr. Maciver's book is a first-rate study of social facts and social laws, and should receive a warm welcome at the hands of students of sociology.

The Environmental Basis of Society. A Study in the History of Sociological Theory.—*By Franklin Thomas. (Century Co., New York and London, PP. VI+336. Price \$ 3. 00.*

In this book the author does not seek to formulate any new theory of environmental influences, but simply to present in their appropriate historical and cultural settings, the leading theories from Hippocrates to Huntington which explain the phenomena of individual and social life in terms of the geographic environment. The more important criticisms of environmental doctrines are set forth and evaluated. The author has accomplished the task he has set to himself with great ability and sound judgment. As a result of his survey of the leading anthropo-geographical theories and their criticisms, the author concludes,—

That social causation is the scientific description and evaluation of *all* the factors which condition and determine the collective life of man is the position taken by most of the sociologists, who regard the social process as a unity and look upon the geographical factor as constituting only one element in that process. The anthropogeographer will need to adopt this comprehensive view of social causation if he is to discover the

true relation of geographic factors to human society. But it will devolve upon the sociologist to acquaint himself with the extremely important and varied field of causative and conditioning factors in social evolution which is being more and more adequately and discriminatingly cultivated by the anthropogeographer. As Ratzel contended, it is not a matter of 'man *versus* nature, but of man and nature evolving together through reciprocal influences', and every historical situation must be examined in the light of its geographical setting, while all geographical influences must be studied in the light of their changing incidence and importance with the developments and vicissitudes of culture. Besides its great value to the student of sociology and political science this volume will interest the social service worker and others interested in social development.

The book is interestingly written in a non-technical style and will appeal to the general reader as well.

Our Rural Heritage. The Social Psychology of Rural Development.—By James Mickel Williams, (Alfred A. Knopp. New York. 1925). PP. XVII+246. Price \$ 5. 00.

In this book Prof. Williams seeks to analyse the attitudes and beliefs which make up "our rural heritage". The major portion of the book deals with such attitudes of the rural population,

particularly of the farm people in central New York, as those due to weather, those of the family, social intercourse and education, intellectual, juristic and political attitudes, economic attitudes, and religious attitudes.

This book is an important pioneer work in rural sociology, and all students of sociology will acknowledge their debt of gratitude to Prof. Williams for this excellent delineation of the attitudes and beliefs of the early rural population of his country, based on careful field studies and a scholarly study of documents, and statistical correlation of economic conditions with psychological facts. Students of sociology will accord a hearty welcome to this pioneer work and eagerly look forward to the publication of its companion volume to be entitled—*The Expansion of Rural Life*.

Australian Totemism. A Psycho-Analytic Study in Anthropology.—By Geza Róheim, Ph. D. With an Introduction By M. D. Eder (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925), PP. 487. With illustrations and maps. Price 35 s. net.

In this volume the author seeks to explain the problem of Australian totemism by the psycho-analytic method of Freud and the application of his theory of the 'libido' or the dominant role played by unconscious sexual elements as springs of action and determinants of certain traits of character. The book is divided into 7 chapters,

as follows: chap. I., The Proto-totemic complex in South-East Australia, chap. II. Sextotems, chap. III. The Negative Totemism of the South-Eastern Tribes, chap. IV. The Alcheringa Myth, chap. V. Conceptional Totemism, chap. VI. Intichiuma Ceremonies; and chap. VII. History and Development of Australian Totemism. The book is a vast store-house of information about totemism, in particular of Australia, and shows a comprehensive and minute study of all relevant literature on the subject. Our author has digested, marshalled and presented his vast wealth of material with consummate skill. But as to how far he has proved his case, opinions are bound to differ. Dr. Roheim's attempt to explain totemism in all lands by a single-key theory will not, we are afraid, convince a large number of anthropologists. Nor will it appear to many students quite safe to assume that the psychic constitution of the primitive man agrees in every respect with that of the cultured European and that the œdipus complex is the common inheritance of man. The book, however, is packed with valuable data, methodically presented and is well worth studying.

The Southern New Hebrides: An Ethnological Record. By C. B. Humphreys. (*University Press, Cambridge, 1926*). PP. XVII+207. Price 12 s. net.

This admirable ethnographic of account the Southern New Hebrides is indeed a model of

elaborate and careful field-work in ethnology. The physical characteristics, social morphology, family and kinship systems, tribal life, economics, magico-religious ideas and practices, ceremonial life, myths and traditions, knowledge and art and language of the five southern islands of New Hebrides, Tanna, Anaiteum, Futunu, Aniwa, and Eromanga, have been investigated and described with a precision and fullness of detail which might be profitably emulated by many a field worker in anthropology. In the last chapter the author presents a hypothesis, gleaned from certain outstanding facts of New Hebrides ethnology, as to the region from which the peoples in the five islands came and the cultural units of which each is composed. Says he,—

The woolly-haired people, the taller branch of the Oceanic Ulotrichi, made little impression on the five islands in question, with the possible exception of the island of Tanna. By the time the Austronesian-speaking people had fused with them in other parts of Melanesia, these islands became permanently populated by the dual people resulting from this fusion. Later the dual people became modified in their turn by the arrival of the *kava* folk who brought with them many new cultural elements. The influence of these people in Futuna and Aniwa was tremendous, and the culture of these islands became much changed by the new element. In Tanna and in a less degree in Eromanga, this new influence was not felt so strongly, although on the east coast of Tanna it made a lasting impression. In Anaiteum we must assign it to a place midway between the two bi-insular groups. This influx of *kava* folk came almost entirely from the north-east, from Tonga and Samoa, as a reflex migration, and the modification of the culture of the dual people by an original easterly drift of the *kava* folk appears to have been very slight.

Whether this hypothesis will be confirmed or not in all its details by future research, the outstanding scientific value of the book as an excellent ethnological record cannot be disputed.

Evolution.—*By J. Graham Kerr, F. R. S. (Macmillan & Co. 1926). PP. X+278. Price 12 s. net.*

In this book Prof. Kerr provides an excellent outline sketch of modern evolutionary science. As the author remarks in the Preface the grasp of the main principles of Evolution is an essential part of the intellectual equipment not only of the student of Anthropology but also of all citizens of the modern state; and the present book written in quite a simple and lucid style is well adapted for study by the general reader as much as by the beginner in the serious study of Biology and Anthropology. The scope of the book is indicated by the headings of the fifteen chapters into which it is divided, viz., I. Introduction, II. Embryology, III. Palæontology, IV. Comparative Anatomy, V. The Distribution of Animals, and General Conclusion as to the fact of Evolution, VI. Heredity (Introductory), VII. The Cytological Basis of Inheritance, VIII. The Statistical Study of Inheritance, IX. The Experimental Study of Inheritance: Summary, X. The Direct Cause of Evolutionary Change, XI. Adaptation as Illustrated by the Coloration of Animals, XII. Sexual Selection; Evolutionary Factors Auxiliary or

Ancillary to Natural Selection, XIII. Communal Evolution, XIV. Evolution and Man, XV. Conclusion; Some of the General Problems of Evolution; Summary.

The book is marked by the author's sanity of judgment and power of lucid exposition. Although some readers may not see eye to eye with Prof. Kerr in his views as to such economic questions as the utility of the capitalist, there can be no question about the excellence of the book as a whole.

The Old Americans.— *By Alès Hrdlicka.* (Bailliere Tindall & Cox. London 1925). PP. XIII+438. Price, 50 s. net.

In this eminently valuable publication, the distinguished American Physical Anthropologist Dr. Ales Hrdlicka records the results of his exhaustive anthropometric examination of about one thousand "Old Americans", which term the author applies in general to those American Whites who have been longest in the country, whose ancestry goes back on each side of the family to at least two generations of native-born Americans. As a result of his examination, the author infers that a distinct type has been evolved to which the designation 'American race' may be rightly applied. The learned author extends his view to the future and foresees a 'New American' type not far removed from the present Old American type, and yet somewhat different.—

"The New-American type"—Says Dr. Hrdlicka, "will in all probability be, in the average, tall, more sanguine, and perhaps less spare than the old. It will remain an intermediary white type in pigmentation, head form, and other respects. It will show for a long time a wide range of individual variation in all respects. And it may well be expected to be a wholesome and effective type, for mixtures such as those from which it shall have resulted are, so far as scientific research shows, not harmful but rather beneficial, and conditions of life as well as environment in this country are still propitious.....Just what the New Americans will be in world affairs will depend in the main upon the soundness of their organization and training and upon circumstances. So far as physique is concerned, the indications seem decidedly hopeful".

Factors of American History.—By A. F. Pollard. (University Press, Cambridge, 1925). PP. 327. Price 8 s. 6 d. net.

The author who is Oxford Professor of English History in the University of London delivered in 1924 a course of (Watson Foundation) lectures on American History. These lectures, addressed to an English audience, were delivered mostly from notes and subsequently written out and presented to the public in the present volume. The book consists of eight chapters headed respectively, I. Inheritance and Tradition, II. Conservatism, III. Nationality and Nationalism, IV. "New Birth of our New Soil", V. Imperialism, VI. Idealism, VII. Reconciliation, VIII. The Value of American History. An exhaustive Index and a map of the territorial expansion of the United States add to

the value of this illuminating account of the main features and tendencies of American history. The book constitutes a decided help to a better understanding of American history by non-Americans.

The Mummy : A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archæology.—*By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt. Second Edition. (University Press, Cambridge, 1925). PP. XXIV+513. Price 45 s. net.*

In the present edition, the book has been greatly enlarged by the incorporation of the results of the many important researches since the publication of the first edition in 1893. We have now for the first time in this book "a nearly connected" account of the history of Egypt from the late Neolithic down to the Roman period. Besides an outline account of the history of ancient Egypt, and various matters of absorbing interest relating to Egyptology, this splendid and erudite volume contains a wealth of material regarding Egyptian funeral and other ceremonies which will be of immense interest to the student of anthropology.

English Life in the Middle Ages.—*By L. F. Salzman. (Oxford University Press, 1926). PP. 287. Price 7 s. 6 d. net.*

This excellent book eminently fulfils the objects the author has in view, namely, to stimulate the

interest of young students in the subject and satisfy that interest up to a certain point, and to indicate to those who wish to travel beyond that point by what paths they may attain to fuller knowledge. The illustrations alone would stimulate the joyous interest of the dullest pupil in the class-room, and the delightful and vivacious manner in which the story of mediæval English life is told in this book is calculated to hold that interest on till the last page of the book is reached and will, we are sure, in many cases prompt the youthful readers to acquire further knowledge from advanced literature on the subject. We heartily recommend the book for class-libraries in our English schools. The book will be read with absorbing interest not only by the pupils but by many of their teachers.

Shaman, Saiva and Sufi. *A Study of the Evolution of Malay Magic.*—By R. O. Winstedt, M. A., D. Litt. (Oxon.), (Constable & Company Ltd., London, Bombay, Sydney, 1925).

The author who is a member of the Malayan Civil service has written this book after a prolonged residence of twenty-two years in the Malay Peninsula and a close study of the manners, customs and beliefs of the Malay people. His position as a member of the Malay Civil service gave him special facilities for such study and he has availed himself to the full of his opportunities.

The book, which gives a good account of the magic of Muslim Malays, consists of eleven chapters. Chapters I to IV deal with the Malay's evolution from Animist to Muslim; Chapters V. and VI. with his Animism; Chapters VII and VIII. with his Shamanism; Chapter IX. with Rites of Birth and Infancy, Adolescence, Betrothal and Marriage, Death, and Installation ceremonies,—all largely saturated with Hindu Magic; and chapters X. and XI. with Muslim accretions. The book will be welcome to all students of the customs and beliefs of man.

Crime and Custom in Savage Society.—*By Bronislaw Malinowski, D. Sc. (Kegan, Paul & Co. Price 5/- net).*

No student of anthropology can afford to miss the series of books which is being published by Messrs Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. under the general title of "The International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method". The number of volumes in it bearing on anthropology is an eloquent testimony to the increasing esteem in which that science is being held. Especially are these books valuable to the field worker—and we are all potential field workers in India—for from them he will glean not only much instruction as to the correct method of enquiry, but will find many indications of subjects on which fuller first-hand information is

awaited. The books vary as much in point of view as they do in price, and are all the more stimulating for that. The latest of the series is the short but valuable treatise by Dr. Malinowski now under review. In it he takes the customs of the Trobriand Islanders, of which he has first-hand knowledge, as an example of the very real sense of law to be found among savages. From this he makes out a very strong case against the current views of anthropologists which assume "that all custom is law to the savage, and that he has no law but his custom. All custom again is obeyed automatically and rigidly by sheer inertia. There is no civil law or its equivalent in savage societies. The only relevant facts are the occasional breaches in defiance of custom,—the crimes. There is no mechanism of enforcement of the primitive rules of conduct except the punishment of flagrant crime." Against this view he contends that the force of custom, reverently though it is regarded, is not enough to counteract the temptations of appetite or lust or the dictates of self-interest. The forces which make custom binding he finds in the chain of reciprocal services which connects all classes and individuals of the community, and in "the conspicuous and ceremonial manner in which most of the legal obligations have to be discharged". He considers that Dr. Rivers was wrong in speaking of "communism" in Melanesia, and himself finds only reciprocity. One wonders whether the difference between communism and close reciprocity is in practice a very

real one. There can be little outwardly to distinguish the two systems.

The second part of the book consists of a study of punishment among primitive people. The author points out, what many field-workers must have noticed but have failed to record, that many primitive laws are systematically evaded by well-established methods; it is only when a breach is offensively open and flagrant that it is punished. This systematic evasion can only be detected by living among the people; the casual enquirer will always be told that a custom is binding, and his informant will probably display unctuous horror at the idea of a breach of it.

It has often been noticed that a savage who leaves his community, even though it be at the behest of a missionary society, often turns from a law-abiding member of society into a truculent and undisciplined nuisance. It is because nothing binding has been substituted for the legal and social rules under which he was brought up. To "civilize" a community is usually to increase the criminals in it. Dr. Malinowski shows how delicately adjusted and yet how strong are the parts of the primitive social machine. Let well-meaning but ignorant reformers beware of tampering with it. It is unwise to try and mend a watch if one does not know how it works.

J. P. M.

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1. THE BIRHORS : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608 with 36 plates. Ranchi: "MAN IN INDIA" Office, 1925.) Price Rs. 10/- ; 15 s.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes:—

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